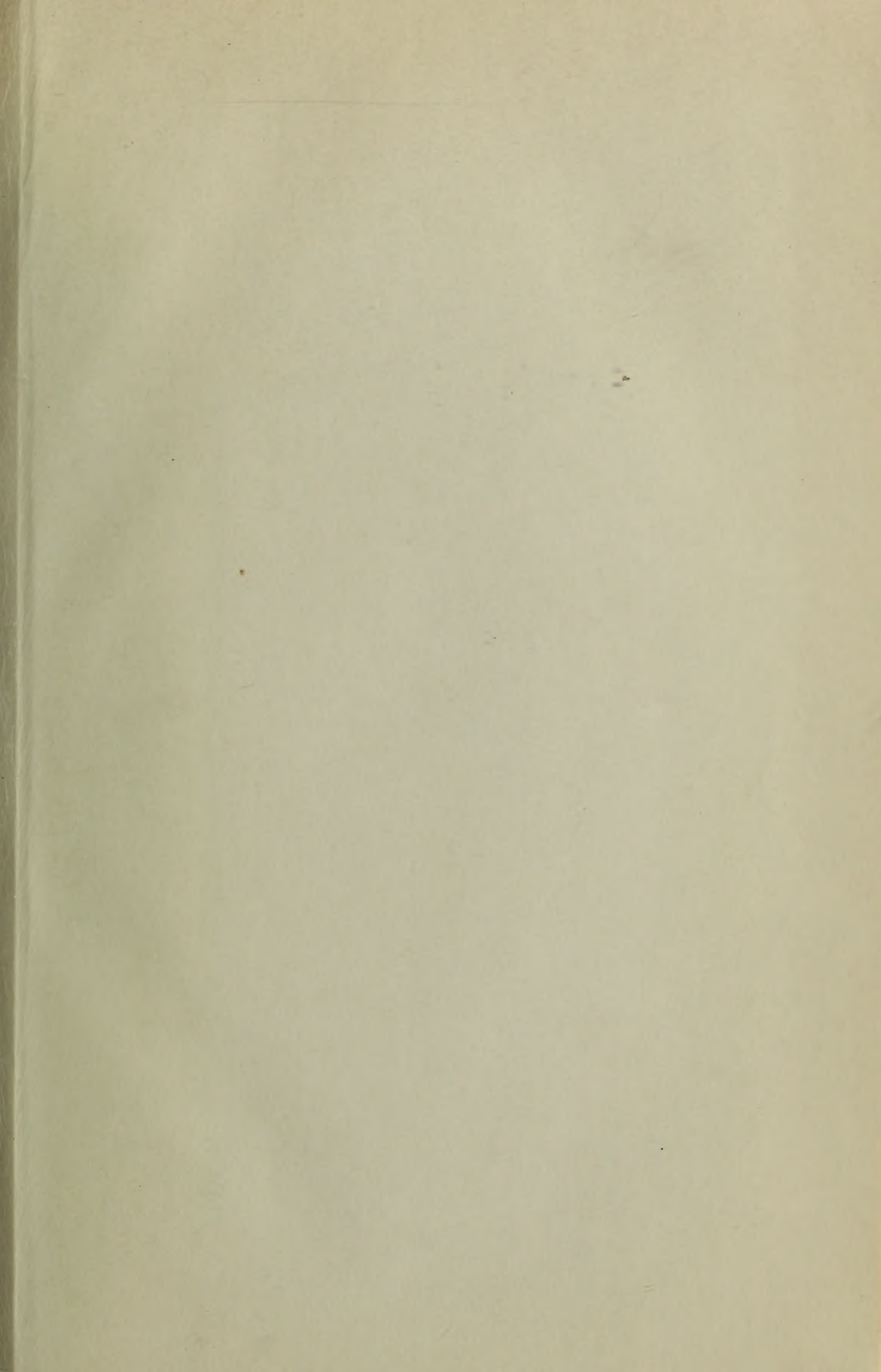



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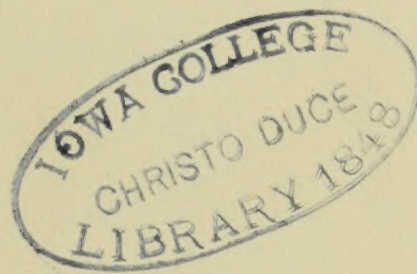


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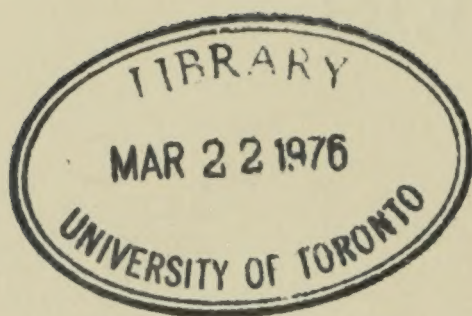
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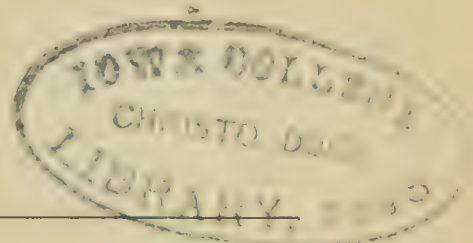
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THE EDUCATION OF THE STRANGER

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A TRUSTWORTHY judgment concerning the service rendered by the agents of the government in the Philippine Islands during the last three years cannot be grounded on the fragmentary despatches communicated to the daily press, but only on the slowly unfolding consequences of the organization and policy established.

The conditions are unfamiliar, and many of the factors of the problem lie quite without the range of our experience as a nation. Hitherto on this continent we have established governments for societies in which those who made the laws have had the same ideas, instincts, and traditions as the body of the people for whom the laws were made: only members of our own race have been involved. In the new undertaking we have sought to bring into political coöperation members of two distinct races. Those persons who have expected such immediate results as might appear in dealing with a branch of European stock have failed to take into account the mutually repelling force of diverse racial inheritances. They have failed to estimate properly the difficulty the subordinate race is destined to encounter in comprehending the ideas and social principles of the dominant race, and also the difficulty it will experience in changing its point of view with respect to government, and in annulling the force of the ancient social traditions.

To Americans the problem is new. It is the problem of educating the members of another and an alien race, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, and whose motives in conduct, it is not always easy for us to understand. The work which the government has had to do is to solve a practical problem of education in the broader sense, a problem which involves all the influences that make for enlightenment, and which embraces many factors that do not come into consideration in the administration of the ordinary educational affairs of the United States. It is the problem of educating the stranger, and its solution must be based on a proper comprehension of the relation of the people of the Orient to the people of the Occident. Therefore, at the foundation of our educational administration in the Philippines lie the facts of race distinctions, and the question of the relation of one race to another. It is not of great importance for us in this connection that the various plans for dividing the inhabitants of the earth into racial groups have in certain respects been unlike, or that different systems of names have been applied to the several groups. The fact of primary importance is that there are certain more or less clearly defined races, and that their distinguishing characteristics, both physical and mental, are clearly recognized. To the casual observer the physical characteristics of the different races are the more striking, but the mental characteristics are scarcely less distinctive or less persistent. It is confessedly difficult for the Ethiopian to change his skin, while he keeps in his veins the pure blood of his race, and it is scarcely less difficult for him to lay aside those fundamental ideas, which are the common inheritance of his race, and which constitute the background of his mental, or spiritual, life.

The mental life of the member of a race at any given period goes on before a background of fundamental ideas and instincts, which are an inheritance from uncounted generations of racial ancestors. The individual man thinks his several thoughts, but back of them lies a body of traditional wisdom compounded of the thoughts and fancies of earlier generations. This traditional wisdom conditions the thought of the individual man, and fixes limits which he may not pass without incurring a certain measure of social disapproval. It determines the general character of his mental cultivation, and, because of its influence in this regard, there exist a closer sympathy and a more complete understanding between the members of a common race than between men of the same degree of enlightenment of different races. One Englishman understands and sympathizes with another Englishman or with an American, because their mental lives have a common presupposition in the fundamental ideas and instincts of a common race. But an Englishman and a

Chinaman of the same grade of education are still far apart, because of the different bases of fundamental ideas and racial instincts which underlie their individual cultivation.

The most permanent factor revealed in the history of society is this body of racial ideas and instincts. It is, of course, not absolutely unchangeable, for it has been formed by a process extending over thousands of years, and at any given time the slow process of modification is still going on. Although racial traits are thus theoretically subject to change, there is clear historical evidence that certain distinguishing physical race marks were as distinct four thousand years ago as they are today, and it is not less clear that the mental and moral qualities of the great races were as distinctive then as now.

The persistence of fundamental race characteristics constitutes an important obstacle to be overcome by the nations that are exercising power over lands inhabited chiefly by persons of another race. It, moreover, raises a question as to the advisability of one nation attempting to convey its institutions to a strange people, and finally, it provokes inquiries as to what should be the nature of the instruction imparted in case an attempt is made to educate the members of an alien race.

Since there are certain fundamental ideas and instincts which are subject to perceptible change only after very long periods, it would seem to be reasonable to conclude that little effort should be directed to their modification, in view of the fact that such effort will be in a very large measure fruitless, and to maintain that all possible effort should be devoted to imparting practical knowledge. The government of the Philippine Islands has, therefore, aimed to impart such knowledge as would put the Filipinos in touch with the practical ideas and affairs of modern civilization. It has believed, moreover, that this might be done without educating him out of his race. The Chinaman need not lay aside his hereditary ideas and instincts, in other words, put off his race characteristics, in order to acquire an efficient working knowledge of the practical affairs of western civilization. And the Japanese have found a thorough adoption of western arts and sciences and western practical methods quite consistent with an uncompromising retention of their race spirit. They have not lost their essential characteristics because they build steamships and railways and no longer commit hari-kari.

There is much in recent Japanese history to support the idea that the Filipinos may be led to accept many of the arts and practical methods of the West, while still retaining many of the distinctive qualities of their race. There are, however, those who would persuade the Filipinos that they can be made over at once into Europeans, and can enter immedi-

ately into the European's rich spiritual inheritance. Unfortunately, the history of the several races puts in its testimony against this view. There is no doubt that a small, isolated branch of a race may be, to a very great degree, transformed and assimilated to the race by which it is surrounded. But necessary to this is a long period of friendly association, in which the subordinate people may gradually acquire by imitation the distinguishing characteristics of their superiors. Civilization is not a doctrine to be inculcated by precept, but a form of life that is learned by living.

The educational policy of the government of the Philippine Islands differs from that followed by any European nation in its Oriental dependencies. It represents an extreme, while the opposite extreme is represented by the policy of the Dutch in Java. If it be proposed to advance in civilization the native inhabitants of Java, of the Philippines, or of any similar region, such provision for education must be made that, in case any part of the people find itself released from the work of raising food, it may have sufficient training to enable it to turn successfully to other pursuits that are needed in a progressive community. Without such a provision the native inhabitants devoted exclusively to agriculture remain in a certain sense in bondage to the foreigners who, under these conditions, will be obliged to carry on the industry and commerce, and perform the professional work of the country. Java, under the Dutch, furnishes the best illustration of such a condition. In ninety years the population has grown from eight millions to about twenty-nine millions, and the Dutch speak with pride of the fact that, in spite of this remarkable growth, there has been no famine. With every succeeding year more children have been born, and more rice has been raised to feed them. This is the history of the Javanese under the Dutch. They have had few opportunities to acquire even an elementary education, and they have not been encouraged to learn the Dutch language, through which they might have gained some knowledge of the world beyond the limits of their island. They have, however, been made to understand the desirability of an extremely humble bearing in the presence of members of the dominant race. The island has been covered by an unparalleled intensive cultivation, and railroads have opened the interior to the markets of the world. But no means have been established through which the Javanese may acquire the training necessary to enable them to be anything more than cultivators of rice. As the population has increased, new lands have been brought under cultivation until the utmost possible limit of extension has been nearly reached. Under these circumstances, with practically the whole increase of population relegated

to agriculture, there is no incentive to introduce improved means of cultivation, and consequently the oldest and most laborious methods are continued in use, when the physical conditions would permit the employment of newer and more economical methods. The Javanese, under the Dutch, are being trained to fill only a very limited number of the economic positions of society, and thus, instead of being prepared to distribute themselves throughout all the departments of the social body, they are confined by their educational limitations practically to a single occupation. They thus constitute a separate class, a mere fragment of a society. In the Philippines a widely different plan has been entertained. Under this plan it is proposed to furnish such facilities to the Filipinos that lack of opportunity to acquire the requisite training shall never be a barrier to their obtaining any position to which they may legitimately aspire.

This policy naturally awakens in the minds of our Dutch neighbors many doubts as to its wisdom. The Dutch are disposed to estimate the virtue of their Oriental dependents according to the humility and submissiveness displayed, and to regard with many misgivings the discontent and the sense of personal independence developed by education. They are, moreover, persuaded that enlarged knowledge will breed rebellion and war. Our position in this matter is, however, such that even if education brings rebellion and war, we are obliged to insist on education. We have no alternative. As Americans we are committed by our form of government and by the traditional purposes of our society to stand for education, not only here between the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific, but on every shore that lies under the authority of this nation.

The principle which, it is expected, will continue to be carried out in the Philippine Islands is the same principle that should control the educational policy here and everywhere. It is that the systematic instruction of the schools should touch the life of society at all possible points. The most complete carrying out of this principle is found in the educational systems of those nations whose schools, of the various grades, deal with all the departments of knowledge needed to further the material as well as the intellectual progress of society. The other extreme, where instruction touches society at only one or at a few points, is found in the Oriental schools.

A few months ago I visited, in Cairo, the central university of the Mohammedan world. The floors of its immense halls were covered with matting, and on this were seated, singly or in little groups, its thousands of students. From the youngest to the oldest they were all committing to memory and repeating passages from their common text-

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book, the Koran. For them the utterances of the Prophet constitute their sole subject of contemplation. Sometimes in an apparent ecstasy, sometimes in drowsy indifference, their bodies swaying backwards and forwards or from side to side, they repeat hour after hour the Koran's statements of Mohammedan theology and morals. This exclusive and persistent contemplation of a single subject, and that one within the realm of unrealities, necessarily limits the intellectual horizon and makes the mind inhospitable. Those who go out from this school, go forth with no more practical knowledge than they had when they entered it. They have become specialists in religion. Their training tends to keep alive the fires of fanaticism and to preserve the religious tradition, but it does not tend to develop power in practical affairs. Mohammedan instruction touches life at only one point. A few men from England and France, trained in institutions organized to reach the varied interests of society, have done more to regenerate Egypt than all those who have gone out from her university in the last hundred years.

The men of the East can spin as fine a web of philosophy as the men of the West, but their weakness appears in the presence of practical problems, and this weakness is largely the result of defective training. It cannot be reasonably expected that men trained under a system like that of Mohammedan schools will have either interests or knowledge in practical affairs. And whenever, as was the case in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish régime, education is directed and controlled by the church, it is inevitable that there should be a tendency to lay more stress on the spiritual than on the material interests of society. Instruction in the Philippines under the Spanish had the same kinds of defects as in other Oriental countries, although in a less marked degree. There exists still somewhat of the difficulty that exists elsewhere in the Orient, of bringing the people to recognize the value of the new form of training and education, and to modify their habitual mental processes so that they may be able advantageously to receive it.

Industrial education in the Philippines encounters two embarrassments. The first of these is the lack of a desire to engage in industry; most of the young men who are able to rise above the position of a house servant or a coachman preferring to be messengers or clerks under the government, or to seek their fortunes in the professions. The second embarrassment is found in the difficulty of rendering, in non-industrial communities, efficient instruction in the industries. It is true that some knowledge of industrial processes may be conveyed by instruction in schools, provided the people to whom the instruction is given be already dominated by the industrial spirit, but if this spirit does not prevail the

schools are powerless through lack of interested pupils. Hitherto the industrial spirit has not been developed among the Filipinos, and industrial schools are not likely to be of much importance until society shall have acquired a more decidedly industrial character. There is nothing in the Filipino's history or his present attitude to indicate that his unaided efforts during the next fifty years will bring about any very remarkable change in his attitude towards industry, or that without the influence of the practical examples of modern industrial life, he will, to any considerable extent, modify his purposes and ambitions with respect to the economic affairs. Like all other peoples in the lower grades of civilization, he is bound by powerful conservative instincts to the social forms and occupations of his past, and his past has very little to reveal in the field of art or industry. His history when viewed from the side of art and industry and compared with the history of Japan or China is a barren waste. But nothing would do more to change his attitude and to develop in him the ambitions which lie at the foundation of industrial society than to see industry growing up around him and its interests becoming the dominant interests within his view. Such a transformation can be brought about only by the introduction of new skill and new industrial power from a foreign source. The laborers introduced may be employed in building ships, making railroads and highways, and doing all the heavier work required to reveal and utilize the wealth of a virgin country. The doing of this heavier work would greatly increase the demand for such labor as the Filipino's strength and talent enable him to furnish, and by this means his economic position would be materially improved. Under conditions like these the Filipinos might acquire the industrial spirit, and be induced to accept the instruction and to respond to the incentives to industry that would lie all around them.

Perhaps the most important educational work undertaken by the government of the Philippine Islands is that designed to provide for the Filipinos an opportunity to learn the English language. The knowledge which it is proposed to convey is purely practical knowledge, with a distinctly practical purpose. The Spaniards, in many instances, prevented the Filipinos from learning the Spanish language, and looked with distinct disapproval upon the use of this language by the natives of the islands. This is a policy sometimes pursued to make a subject people feel its subordination. In Java the Dutch have not encouraged the native to address them in the language the Europeans use among themselves. By this they made sharp the line of race distinction, and let it be clearly understood that the intercourse of Europeans with Europeans

was quite a different thing from the intercourse of Europeans with Javanese. In the early period of the occupation of Mexico by the Spaniards, when it was proposed that the natives should be kept in a servile position under the invaders, it was the policy of the Spaniards to communicate with them in some one of the native dialects. It was only when it was found to be difficult, if not impossible, to convey to them the doctrines of Christianity in the native tongues, that a different policy was adopted. This change was not followed by undue familiarity between the Indians and the Spaniards, for most of the Indians that had been brought into relations with the civilized inhabitants had already been branded as we brand our cattle. The authorities in the Philippines have sought to establish as close relations as possible between the members of the two races, and have not thought it advisable either to brand the Filipinos or to hold them aloof by putting obstacles in the way of their using our speech.

Some of the English in India, who wish to have the natives retain a sense of inferiority and maintain an attitude of subjection, are opposed to their learning the English language, on the ground that a knowledge of this language will make them feel and assert their equality with the members of the ruling nation. There is no doubt that, in India and in all lands where a foreign race rules, a knowledge of the language of the dominant nation tends to develop in the natives a certain self-respect and a sense of equality with those in power. But from our point of view this is not a result to be avoided, for these qualities are necessary to enable the Filipinos to play the political rôle that has been assigned to them. Popular self-respect and an absence of the sense of subjection are essentials to the development of a well ordered system of self-government. But there is a rational ground for pursuing in India a policy with reference to the use of the English language different from that pursued in the Philippine Islands. This difference of policy is necessitated by the different conditions in the two countries. In the first place, the native languages of India, whether we refer to the Tamil language of the south or the language used in central and northern India, are languages of cultivation, and there exists in each of them an extensive literature adequate to all the intellectual needs of a civilized people. This literature, embracing poetry, books of religion, and the laws, cannot be set aside without destroying among the people the main forces that make for civilization. The Filipinos have no such literature in any of their various dialects, and, therefore, to teach them the English language and open to them the views of the world that may be gained through the use of that tongue is not to subject them to any intellectual loss, but, on

the other hand, to furnish them a most powerful stimulus to intellectual progress. In the second place, the vastness of India's population and the strength of its traditions make it absolutely necessary that the India of the future should be developed out of the India of the past. The mission of the English in India has not been, and is not, to lay a new foundation for Indian society, but to reform the historic society of the country by eliminating its unworthy features, and by introducing for its use and instruction certain practical elements of western organization as well as certain material appliances of our economic life. The Filipino's history and traditions, that lie back of his contact with Europeans, in so far as they exist, are the history and traditions of barbarism, and they have been overlaid by the social and religious practices of Christian society, which constitute the real foundation of whatever civilization the inhabitants of the islands possess. In so far as India is civilized, her civilization is a native product, tempered and modified by English influence. In so far as the Philippine Islands are civilized, their civilization is an European product spread over a barbaric past. This European contribution to the cultivation of the Filipinos constitutes the only basis on which we have to build for the future. In this view it appears that the only language of cultivation available to the Filipinos is an European language, and with English, the language of the government of the islands, the language of trade in the East, it follows inevitably that the Filipinos will find greater advantage in its use than in the use of Spanish, its only real rival.

After the Filipinos had become convinced that the established relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States were to be maintained, they manifested a strong desire to learn the English language, and the authorities saw no reason for refusing to gratify this desire. On the contrary, they believed that to encourage this ambition would help to give to the Filipinos a better understanding of the purposes of the United States, and tend to set aside the differences that had arisen between the two peoples. Here, then, was a legitimate and laudable ambition that might be gratified with advantage to both parties. Any other action than that taken would have provoked the just charge of bungling stupidity.

It was no part of the design of the government to undertake in any manner to discredit the work of the Spanish administration, but whenever it could secure the advantage of the people by amending the policy of Spain, it found it advisable to make such amendments. If popular approval has followed such action, this has been regarded as a distinct gain for the government in the enterprise in hand. The vigorous car-

rying out of the government's liberal educational policy has shown a contrast between the Spanish and American administrations to the advantage of the latter, and this action on the part of the new government has done as much as the execution of any single line of policy to convince the Filipinos of the benevolent purposes of the United States. The Filipinos have regarded the opportunities given them to learn the English language as the offer of means by which they might enter into closer relations with the dominant nation.

One of the practical advantages of a knowledge of the English language to the people of the Philippine Islands is that it will supply a common medium of communication where no such medium formerly existed. Hitherto the several districts have remained more or less separated by the use of widely differing dialects, and have naturally fallen into a narrow provincialism and developed numberless local antagonisms. A common speech will tend to remove these antagonisms and to break up the prevailing provincial narrowness and jealousy. A second advantage of a knowledge of English is that it will make possible a political régime of a popular character, involving and interesting the inhabitants of all parts of the islands. A third advantage is that this knowledge will enable the inhabitants of the islands to read American books and periodicals, and thus to become gradually informed of the character of American institutions, and to have always at hand a source of information respecting the affairs of civilized countries. By translating a few textbooks into the several dialects, primary instruction might have been given in these dialects, but it would always have remained questionable whether ability to read a language that has no literature be worth the trouble of learning to read. It was clearly seen that a knowledge of no one of the Filipino dialects would satisfy the practical needs of the people: to furnish instruction in English became, therefore, a conspicuous feature of the educational policy of the Philippine government. It was provided that this instruction should be given in the regularly organized day schools, not only to the pupils but also to the teachers, and the training was still further extended by a system of night schools for adults. The officers of the local governments, clerks in business houses, and Filipino teachers attended the night schools in great numbers, and the powerful impression made by these schools was due not solely to the skill displayed in the teaching, but also, in large part, to the zeal and aptitude of the pupils. In view of what has already been achieved, the task of giving the educated part of the people the practical use of a new language appears now much less difficult than at first. It is not an Utopian undertaking. It is as practicable as teaching a community the use of new tools.

Some very good and very wise men have had grave doubts as to the sanity of those persons who supported the project to employ women as teachers in the Orient. The mockery of the unbelieving is apparently based on the assumption that the social character of one part of the Far East is like that of every other part. In countries where woman has no social position and where heaven is conceived to be open to her only when vouched for by men, it would probably not be expedient to send American women as teachers without some preliminary work in preparing the way. But in the Philippine Islands the way has been prepared by the Spanish missionaries and the domination of the church. The Filipinos are Christians, and as Christians their view of the position of woman in society is not greatly different from the view entertained by other Christian peoples. It is essentially the same view as that entertained by the more conservative western nations, who deem it quite proper that girls should be taught by women rather than by men. In establishing the new system of instruction, good policy and a decent regard for the ideas and prejudices of the Filipino people demanded that the girls, at least in the larger towns, should have an opportunity to be taught by women. If, in making provision to this end, it so happened that a certain number of boys fell under the instruction of women, the inconvenience was not serious. In fact, there was no inconvenience at all. It is a very good thing for the youthful Filipinos to learn early that in civilization woman has a place of authority. It was, therefore, not a mistake to employ a certain number of American women as teachers in the Philippines. They performed an important function as instructors of children, and at the same time they set a standard of efficiency for the native women teachers with whom they were associated. With rare exceptions they were women of good attainments, of high character, and of noble purposes, and the service they have rendered and are still rendering merits the most cordial commendation.

It is not to be denied that in establishing new conditions for the Filipinos much has been done that is necessarily experimental in character. This statement, however, does not involve a condemnation. When viewed in the proper light, the art of government appears to consist very largely of experiments. Every law that is passed is framed to meet conditions subsequent to the time of its passage, and consequently these conditions cannot be fully known at the time the law is made. Furthermore, the factors of practical problems in different periods, or in different countries in the same period, are always more or less unlike. It follows, therefore, that every legislative act is more or less of an experiment. Where we have to do with the imperfectly known psychological factors of a

strange race, our acts have, in a larger measure than elsewhere, an experimental character. The establishment of a system of secular public instruction in the Philippine Islands, where previously all instruction had been directed by ecclesiastical authority, was a very conspicuous experiment. Many factors in the problem could not be determined beforehand. It could not be known in advance whether it would be possible or not to secure an adequate number of teachers of the quality required to carry the undertaking to a successful issue. It was recognized that we had to do with persons whose only conception of a school was that it was a subordinate adjunct to the church, and it was uncertain what would be their attitude towards the new system. It could not, moreover, be known in advance to what extent the authority of the church would be effective in preventing children from attending secular schools.

In view of the ambitions and hereditary purposes of the church, there was no reasonable ground to expect that it would coöperate unconditionally with the government in the work of secularizing instruction. For centuries the church had been the dominant factor in the affairs of the islands. It had aimed, with a lofty purpose, to educate and convert the inhabitants, and to bring them into loyal and devoted submission to its authority. Its long service in the campaign against barbarism had made it profoundly conscious of its great mission, and it was morally impossible for it suddenly to transfer its sympathies and support from ecclesiastical to secular instruction. If one is so thoroughly and uncompromisingly a radical as to be irritated by the opposition to secular education which the church has sometimes expressed, he is hardly in a position to deal rationally with any social question. He fails to appreciate the compelling force of a great tradition. He apparently expects progress to be achieved by a series of social miracles. This is not the method by which society is moved from one stage to another. In general, old traditions and old opinions are only gradually worn away and supplanted by new opinions and new ambitions. The church, the oldest, the stablest, the most consistent of European institutions, has a history which no generation can ignore, and it would not be true to its past and its traditional opinions if it did not proclaim its belief in the superiority of the instruction which it provides to any that may be offered by secular authority. But an opinion, even an old opinion, does not establish a fact. The church in the Philippine Islands has accomplished a great undertaking in turning the people from barbarism towards civilization, and it has still before it a task sufficiently important to engage all its force without departing from its legitimate field. Between this field and the proper realm of state action, the founders of the government of the

United States have fixed a line of demarkation in separating the state from the church.

The education of the less advanced races under influences proceeding from western nations is important, in that it enlarges the area of popular progress, and contributes to the preservation of the higher forms of cultivation. It is almost inevitable that we should believe in the permanence of our institutions. Each age regards itself exempt from the forces that have ruined the cultivation of preceding ages. Yet in spite of this belief, whenever a society has fallen, it has succumbed to forces that ruined its predecessors; it has succumbed to barbarism, either the barbarism of the invading stranger, or barbarism generated within by governmental oppression or neglect. Against invading barbarians, civilized nations are basing their security now on their superior command of the forces of destruction. But the threatening barbarian may be already within the limits of the field claimed for civilization, or a barbarian invasion may be peaceful, continuing through many decades, and leaving, in the end, the society invaded composed of new elements and animated by strange purposes. Against an uprising of internal barbarism or an invasion like this a powerful military organization furnishes no defence.

The question of the power of barbarism to overwhelm civilization is more than a question of idle speculation. The recent legislation of several nations of Aryan stock against the invasion of the Chinese, the loud demand, from other nations, for restriction of immigration and the rising tide of internal barbarism in certain countries indicate that the question is eminently practical. The consideration that has moved legislators to provide for the exclusion of unwelcome elements is not the fear that there will be more laborers than will be needed to perform the work required in the countries in question, but that the unrestrained coming of members of alien races will break down the existing standards of living and substitute barbarism for civilization.

The force of the desire to migrate is destined to increase with the increasing contact of nations, and with the development of the facilities for movement. Awaken the lower races from their passive condition, infect them with the fever of progress, and they will find their territory too narrow for their expanded desires. Japan, scarcely half a century out of her stagnant mediævalism, feels already the impulse to move, and to seek a broader field for her stimulated national spirit. Sooner or later the other nations of the Orient will be aroused to progressive activity. The voice of western steamships in their harbors, the roar of railway trains across their fields, and the rattle of western industry in their cities

will render the continuance of their long sleep impossible, and they will learn that facilities for traveling have made the territory of every nation contiguous to that of every other nation.

Against this movement neither military equipment nor immigration laws will in the long run be of any avail. In view of this state of things, civilization, as represented by the Anglo-Saxon nations, is pursuing a policy of aggressive defence. Under the tutelage of these nations, whether expressed through schools or the institutions of industry, the barbarian is led to lay aside his barbarism and become an ally of civilized society. The rule of these nations is an educational process. On whatever point the instruction bears, whether on any of the numberless arts of peace or even on the art of war, the result is essentially the same: the persons affected are brought nearer the standard of civilization. The process of education directed to any end recognized in an enlightened state imposes a sense of social obligation and responsibility which transforms the barbarian and puts him on the side of civilization.

In a great nation culture has a certain momentum that is wanting where a people is broken up into a large number of petty independent states. When, therefore, the inhabitants of a small state or an isolated region are drawn into close union with a great nation, they are bound to be affected by the currents of that nation's life, and to be carried on towards a higher phase of civilization by the momentum of its culture. By this process of education the nations of Europe and America now dominant in the world are relieving the helplessness of the stagnant races, and preparing for the perpetuity of civilization by the abolition of barbarism.

PLUTARCH

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“**A**ND would they take the poor boy’s life for the like o’ that?”
“Bedad they would, if he had as many lives as Plutarch.”
This little dialogue was overheard not long ago in an Irish county. It may, perhaps, fitly introduce the present paper, as showing what a world-wide fame has been won by “Plutarch’s Lives.” It will be observed that the phrase “Plutarch’s Lives,” coming down to the peasantry from a distant and obscure tradition of the Hedge Schoolmaster, had lost its meaning for them, and Plutarch had become not the author but the possessor of many lives. Mr. Strachan Davidson in his “Cicero” couples the “Lives” with the philosophical works of Cicero, as having exercised the greatest and most constant influence on subsequent literature; and when we remember Shakespeare’s large indebtedness to North’s “Plutarch,” we must admit that Mr. Strachan Davidson has not accorded to the “Lives” an unduly high place among epoch-making works.

But though Plutarch has exercised so great an influence on literature, we know very little about his life, and that little chiefly gleaned from his own writings. The chief of biographers has had no biographer. The legends which have gathered round him, such as the tradition that he was made consul by Trajan, have no historical basis. He was born a Bœotian, in that crass atmosphere of which Juvenal speaks as the very home and centre of dulness, though it produced Pindar, perhaps the most truly “inspired” of all poets ancient or modern. His native place was Chæronea, the town which commanded the Bœotian plain, and which so often provided a field for contending hosts to meet and put the destinies of Hellas to “battle’s brute arbitrament.” As Belgium in modern history has earned the name of “the cockpit” of Europe, so Chæronea (as Plutarch tells us) was called more pleasantly by Epaminondas “Mars’ ballroom,” so often did it invite the states of Greece to the carnival of war. His birth may be placed about 50 A. D. He studied at Athens, visited Alexandria, and must have spent some time in Asia Minor. Rome, “beautiful Rome,” as he calls it, was visited by him at least twice, probably oftener. He delivered lectures there in the Greek tongue, and many of his treatises, as they have come down to us, seem to have been little more than expanded notes of these lectures. He could not have lectured in Latin,—a language of which he had very little

knowledge, only enabling him to take in the general meaning of a sentence which he could not have construed word by word. His knowledge of Latin literature is very small, extending only to histories and memoirs essential for his "Lives." To Virgil he never refers, nor to Ovid, whose "Fasti" would have been so useful to him for his "Roman Questions." His only reference to Latin poetry is one to Horace. It is in his life of Lucullus, where he tells the story to which Horace refers in his "Epistles."¹ According to Horace, Lucullus, being asked if he could supply a hundred purple cloaks for a certain scenic representation, said that he thought he had some, and would see. After a while he sent back a message that he found he had some five thousand, of which the "entrepreneur" might have as many as he wanted. Horace adds the reflection, "it is a poor establishment in which there is not much gear of which the owner knows nothing and in which the thief finds his account." Plutarch seems to have read the passage. The way in which he tells the anecdote is this: "When the 'entrepreneur' said he wanted a hundred, Lucullus told him to take twice as many; on which the poet Flaccus made the comment that a man is not really rich unless he has more property that is overlooked and unsuspected than that which is seen and recognized." The comment, however, is more like that of a man who had been told that Horace had used the incident to point a moral than of one who had read the actual words of the poet. However, the passage is interesting as showing that the great Gibbon nodded when he said that between Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Libanius,—between the century before Christ and the fourth century after,—there is not in the whole of Greek literature a single allusion to Horace or Virgil. Plutarch was equally ignorant of the prose literature of Rome, including the philosophical works of Cicero which, as we have seen, according to Mr. Strachan Davidson, contest with the "Lives" the dominion of the intellect of posterity. The two passages in Plutarch's life of Cicero which seem to show some knowledge of Cicero's philosophical works, are more likely to have come from Tiro's "Life of Cicero." When asked which of the speeches of Demosthenes he admired the most, Cicero replied, the longest.² Again, Plutarch quotes the remark of Cicero when Cæsar ordered the restoration of the statues of Pompey which had been thrown down, "he is erecting the statues of Pompey, but he is planting his own."

It is an interesting observation of the late Dr. Richard Chenevix Trench, Archbishop of Dublin, in his admirable lectures on Plutarch,³

(1) i., 6, 40-46.

(2) *Cic.*, xxiv.

(3) *Plutarch*, four lectures, 1873.

delivered in Dublin just thirty years ago, that Plutarch never broke a lance against the truth which was higher than any which he had ever heard, the truth which in two centuries was to dominate the world. He knew nothing of Christianity. Even such passing notices as we have in Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, and Epictetus are sought in vain in Plutarch. If we are right, and we cannot be far wrong, in placing his birth about 50 A. D., long before he began to write, St. Peter and St. Paul had fulfilled their mission. All around him there were flourishing Christian churches, but he knew nothing of them. If he had ever heard of the perverse superstition, as Pliny calls it, he confounded it with Judaism, of which he knew little and only the least attractive side. "He can tell us how the Jewish high priest was clothed," writes Dr. Mahaffy in his excellent study of Plutarch in "The Greek World Under Roman Sway" (p. 321), "but as to Jewish dogmas he manifests the grossest ignorance." When, however, he warns the wife not to allow religious cults foreign to her husband to creep into the house, he is, in the opinion of Dr. Mahaffy, pointing "at Christianity, as well as at those Oriental cults which we know to have done domestic mischief in those days."¹

The later years of a tranquil and happy life he spent in his native town of Chæronea, a small and insignificant place of which he says in his life of Demosthenes,—in one of those few and precious "asides" which throw a rare and fitful ray of light on his private life,—that it was so small that he did not like to make it smaller by leaving it. Have we here a passage read and remembered by Juvenal² when he speaks of a man repairing to Cumæ as about to present the Sibyl with one additional citizen, an appreciable addition to a population so limited? But while he made Chæronea his headquarters he took excursions into various parts of Greece, and felt a pride in making himself acquainted with her historical and antiquarian monuments. It is in his "Symposiaca" or "Table Talk" that we see most of the man himself and the society of his time. One of his chief friends was Mestrius Florus, a man of consular rank and an ardent antiquarian. With him Plutarch visited the battle-field of Bebriacum where the army of Otho was overthrown. He records an occasion on which the Emperor Vespasian "scored off" the man of learning in a manner characteristic in all ages of the personage when brought to book by a scholar. Mestrius Florus had corrected the emperor for his mispronunciation of the word for a wagon. He had called it *plostra* not *piaustra*. The emperor accepted the correction, but

(1) *Ib.*, 328.

(2) *Juv.*, iii., 3, *Unum civem donare Sibyllae.*

next day greeted the scholar as *Flaurus* not *Florus*. Now *Flaurus* in Greek means "worthless" (φλαῦρος). Human nature is ever the same. The boor in high place loves to have a jest at the expense of the poor scholar, and the world laughs at the triumph of material success over mental endowments. The questions raised at these *symposiaca* were often small and trivial, as, for instance, why is A the first letter of the alphabet, whether the hen or the egg came first, which hand of Venus Diomedes wounded. Here, again, is it not possible that we have evidence of some knowledge of Plutarch on the part of Juvenal? One recalls the passage¹ where Juvenal laughs at the minute and trivial inquiries which engaged the *cognoscenti* of his day: who was the nurse of Æneas, the step-mother of Anchemolus, what age did Acestes attain and how many flasks of Sicilian wine he gave to his Phrygian guests. These *symposiaca* are a wonderful source of information about the social life of the first century of the Christian era, and they have not been drawn upon as much as they deserve. Further, they show the character of Plutarch in a very amiable light, which will be further illustrated when we come to consider his nature and gifts from other points of view.

We have seen,—and shall see even more clearly when we come to estimate Shakespeare's debt to Plutarch,—that the "Parallel Lives" have on them the seal of immortality. Before dwelling on their greatness it may be well to dispose of what is much the most trifling part of the inquiry, namely, the respects in which they fall short of perfection. First of all, Plutarch was a Greek. He was enamoured of Hellas, as Pericles said that every Athenian ought to be of Athens; and he loved his birthplace. He hated those who belittled,—even those who did not love and worship,—Greece and even Chæronea. In a strange passage in the "De sera Numinis Vindicta". ("The Deferred Retribution of Heaven"), perhaps the most interesting of his moral essays, he depicts Nero as suffering the tortures of Hell, his soul being studded with red-hot nails. But he adds that this torment is presently to be remitted, and that Nero (in recognition of his musical tastes) is to be transformed into a marsh frog to make, we suppose, "the punishment fit the crime." This mitigation of sentence is represented as being due to his treatment of Greece: "Some recognition from Heaven was due to the fact that he emancipated Greece, the best and most pious of the peoples subject to Rome." His extraordinary treatise, "On the Malignity of Herodotus" (if really authentic), probably had its rise from the fact that Herodotus has recorded some ignoble facts in Theban history. Yet what single writer

(1) vii., 234-236.

has done more than Herodotus to paint in unfading colors the grand tableau of the struggle of the West against the East? Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis live in his pages; but so does the Theban Medism, and Plutarch cannot bear to be reminded of the blot on the Bœotian escutcheon. Yet surely it was erased by Epaminondas, and Pindar could contemplate it without a blush. But Plutarch lived in a time when Greece was politically a nullity, though she was still able to give laws in literature, rhetoric, and art. We have seen that he despised, or at least neglected, the great literature which Rome had borrowed from her vassal; he also was somewhat blind to the solid qualities of Roman worthies, their steadfastness, their devotion to their country, their abnegation of self,—qualities conspicuously absent in the far more brilliant Greek men of affairs, such as Themistocles, Alcibiades, and (as some would say) Demosthenes. It is interesting to observe that when he has to seek a Roman parallel for a person so characteristically Greek as Alcibiades, he is obliged to have recourse to the semi-mythical Coriolanus, and the parallel hardly extends beyond the fact that each bore arms against his country. It is said that he is disposed to favor the Greek against the Latin hero. On this subject we would ask leave to quote an eloquent passage (abridged) from Dean Meivale's "History of the Romans under the Empire":—

"Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives' are eminently philosophy teaching by example. There is no work, perhaps, of antiquity that Christian parents can put so securely into the hands of their children. The author's object was to draw a fair and friendly comparison between the Greeks and the Romans, between the conquered and the conquerors, the spoiled and the spoilers, the slaves and the masters, between men whom other censors would have delighted to contrast as the spiritual Hellene and the brutal Italian, or, again, as the cringing Græculus and the lofty Romulides. Yet throughout this long series of lives, this glittering array of virtues and vices, there is no word, I think, of subservience or flattery, of humiliation or triumph, to mark the position of the writer in the face of his Roman rulers. Whether we consider the book as addressed to the Greeks or the Romans, the absence of any such indications of feeling is undoubtedly remarkable. To me it seems most honorable both to the one people and to the other."¹

The question is certainly one on which there is no room for a charge of undue bias. But, be it observed, even if the charge of favoring the Greeks were true it would reflect great credit on Plutarch that in an age

(1) Ch. lxvi.

of assentation and servility he chose the nobler part and refused to avail himself of an obvious means of recommending himself to the emperors and the great families of Rome. It is true, indeed, that Plutarch was born a biographer, and as such he was no historian. His lives, for instance, of the Gracchi present them to us as living beings, but the times in which they lived must be reconstructed by us from other sources. The revolution which marked that epoch had for him no existence. A crucial instance of his lack of political insight is to be found in the rapture with which he records the proclamation of the liberty of Greece at the Isthmian games by Flamininus. He seems to believe that "liberty," given as that was, is really liberty and not the most degrading form of servitude, chains the more humiliating because they are gilded, and because they bind their wearers under the semblance of ornaments. But though the political outlook of the "Lives" is but limited, their ethical aspect is invaluable. His own account of his aim may well be quoted from his "Paulus Æmilius," in the words of Sir Thomas North's translation, which must ever have such a deep interest for every English speaking race, as being the material out of which Shakespeare wrought his magnificent panorama of the Roman republic:—

"When I first began to write these 'Lives' my intent was to profit others; but since continuing and going on I have much profited myself by looking into these histories as if I looked into a glass to frame and fashion my life to the mould and pattern of these virtuous noblemen. For, running over their manners in this sort and seeking also to describe their lives, methinks I am still conversant and familiar with them, and do, as it were, lodge them with me, one after another. I do teach and prepare myself to shake off and banish from me all lewd and dishonest conditions, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company I keep,—and must of necessity haunt,—do acquaint me with some unhappy or ungracious touch."

What is the great secret of the popularity of the "Lives," which has made them, in the words of Madam Roland, "the pasture of great souls," which has led Montaigne to call them a breviary, and which has recommended the sage of Chæroneia to minds so diverse as those of Jeremy Taylor, Bayle, Dryden, Bossuet, Molière, and Montaigne? A very noble tribute, too, is paid to them by Amyot, the author of the sixteenth century French translation of the "Lives," whose version North Englished, and who, therefore, at second hand has fed the lamp of our great poet's inspiration:—

"The dullest man in the world on reading or hearing read such a master must bend his head in humility and do obeisance to Truth herself,

who can make herself so well heard in the mouth of a poor pagan.”¹ It is his clear appreciation of the difference between history and biography, his vivid psychological portraiture, which gives to every anecdote, however apparently trivial, a deep significance. Every anecdote illustrates some characteristic trait, or puts in a strong light some striking fact. Witness the anecdote of the girl who, during a gladiators’ show, plucked off a thread from the toga of Sulla that she might get a bit of his luck; the mother who, learning from her husband that he had betrothed their daughter, said angrily “you have been very hasty unless, of course, it is to Tiberius Gracchus”; the refusal of Cato, aged five, to acknowledge the right of the Italians to the franchise, though in the grasp of a big Marsian who held him out of the window by the neck and threatened to drop him if he did not give in. Beside many pithy sentences which have made their way into all the histories, there is still a rich harvest to be gleaned. What could be better than the reply of Sulla to the application for a military command made by Crassus whose family had suffered in the Marian massacre, “I will give the command, but I can give you as support only the ghosts of your father and your brother”; or than Cæsar’s summing up of his military position at a critical moment in the words, “first I must deal with the army that has no general, then with the general who has no army.” Plutarch is keenly conscious of the psychological value of the anecdote and sometimes expressly claims it. In his life of Alexander he tells us that he omits many things of the greatest importance because “the noblest deeds do not always show virtues and vices; but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport, make men’s natural dispositions and manners appear more plain than famous battles won, wherein are slain ten thousand men.” Plutarch’s object is “to decipher the man and his nature,” as he says in the beginning of his “Nicias,” when he confesses that he has lightly passed over many things that Thucydides has told. He certainly neglects the background, giving the life without the times, even to the detriment of the decipherment of nature (as sometimes we cannot help feeling); but when he has succeeded so wonderfully, who shall dare to speak of a flaw in his method? Who will lift up his voice against a plan which has given us such a number of delightful anecdotes, some of which are often attributed to authors much posterior to Plutarch? It is to him we owe the phrase “to call a spade a spade”; he it is who has told us that when the Olyn-

(1) “Le plus sourd du monde lisant ou oyant un tel maistre est contraint de baisser le front et donner gloire à la Vérité se faisant si bien ouyr en la bouche d’un pauvre payen.”

thian politicians complained to Philip that they were called traitors in Macedon because they had betrayed their city, the king replied, "We Macedonians are a rude folk; we call a spade a spade." The same king on another occasion was silenced by a retort also recorded by Plutarch. He was arguing without any special knowledge with a musician on a question touching the musical art, when the latter closed the discussion with the words, "God forbid your Majesty should know as much about these things as a mere artist like myself." An answer recorded by him as given by Alexander the Great is interesting because Seneca¹ calls it utterly foolish though he admits that it sounds spirited and princely. Spirited and princely it certainly sounds to us. A humble friend asked him for some help towards a dowry for his daughter. Alexander gave him fifty talents. This seemed to the applicant to be far too much, and he desired that the gift should be greatly reduced. "But" said the king "though such a sum might be enough for you to receive, it would not be enough for me to give." One is reminded of the indignation of another kingly minded man, Julius Cæsar, when the pirates demanded twenty talents for his ransom. "Make it fifty," said Cæsar, "you do not know my value, such a small ransom would be an insult." This story, illustrating so well the soaring spirit of the great Roman, we owe to Plutarch, as well as Alexander's neat remark about his vicegerent, Antipater. A friend called attention to the plain apparel of Antipater, and commended his modesty and humility. "Yes," said Alexander, "his outer man is plain, but his spirit is always 'en grande tenue.'"² Very subtle, too, is the "mot" ascribed by him to the wise man, Chilon, who, when some one boasted to him that he had not an enemy, put to him the significant question, "Have you a friend?" Some of his happy anecdotes, happy as apt illustrations of character, have already been quoted. Others would be well worthy of record if space permitted. So would some of his grand tableaux, such as those in which he depicts the defeat and death of Crassus, who went deliberately to meet his doom because "it will be better to have it said that a Roman general was deceived by the enemy than abandoned by his own men." Very impressive and picturesque is his description of the last hours of Cato in Utica, that great soul to whom Mommsen refers as the fool who spoke the epilogue in the drama of the fall of the Roman republic. If Cato was a fool in any sense, it was not in the vein of Touchstone and Parolles, caustic but genial critics of life. It was in the way of Don Quixote. Yet he was no Don Quixote either.

(1) *Animosa vox videtur et regia cum sit stultissima, De Beneficiis, ii., 16.*

(2) *Τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὀλοπόρφυρος.*

It was not against windmills that he tilted, though it was against objects equally impervious to his lance. The death of Pompey was called by Chateaubriand "le plus beau morceau de Plutarque," and has been reproduced by every historian of Rome.

We would here put before our readers a scene or two in which Plutarch's treatment of the theme may be compared with that of a brother artist, and it will be seen that Plutarch does not suffer by the comparison. The suicide of Otho is described both by Tacitus¹ and by Plutarch,² and the two have evidently used the same authorities. Here is the Tacitean account taken from Church and Brodribb:—

"Towards evening he quenched his thirst with a draught. Two daggers were brought to him. He tried the edge of both, and then put one under his head. After satisfying himself that his friends had set out, he passed a tranquil night, and it is even said that he slept. At dawn he fell with his breast upon the steel. Hearing a groan from the dying man his freedmen and slaves came in. They found but one wound. His funeral was hastily performed. He had made this the subject of earnest entreaties, anxious that his head might not be cut off and subjected to indignities. The Bœotian cohorts carried his body with praises and tears, covering his wound and his hands with kisses. Some of the soldiers killed themselves near the funeral pile, not moved by remorse or fear, but by the desire to emulate his glory and by affection for their prince."

Plutarch's account of the same scene has all the dignity of Tacitus, and has preserved besides, in the dying emperor's concern for his friends and his freedman, some pathetic touches which the Tacitean narrative lacks:—

"Towards evening he was athirst and drank a little water. Then he carefully examined the edge of two daggers which were beside him, and laid aside one, placing the other under his arm. * * * He spent the rest of the night in repose so unbroken that his chamberlains were astonished at the soundness of his sleep. In the morning he summoned a freedman who had assisted him in the division of his property among his friends, and, learning from him that each of them had received what he desired, said, 'go, then, and show yourself to the troops, if you do not want to meet a violent death at their hands as having helped to cause my death.' When the man left, he held the dagger, point upwards, in both hands and threw himself down on it. The pain wrung from him only one groan, which was the first notice the household had of his

(1) *Hist.*, ii., 49.

(2) *Otho*, xvii.

tragic end. When the slaves lifted up the dead body and exposed it to the public view, the whole camp and city were filled with lamentations. The soldiers burst noisily into the house, and in the excess of their grief cursed their negligence in not keeping a close watch on their emperor and thus baffling his noble self-immolation in their behalf. Though the enemy were hard by, not one of the soldiers would leave the corse. Without even removing their armor, they made a pyre, and carried the dead emperor out. Those who succeeded in outstripping the others in the race for the honor of bearing the bier were proud men. The less fortunate contented themselves with throwing themselves on the corse and kissing the wound. Others clasped the dead hands, and others, who could not get near, prostrated themselves in adoration. Some, after applying the torch to the pyre, slew themselves, not, so far as is known, through gratitude for benefits received, or through fear of the vengeance of the conqueror. No, never was king or tyrant animated by a love of power so prodigious or so passionate as was their craving to be servants to Otho and to do his bidding. Even after his death regret for his loss never left them, but endured in undying hatred of Vitellius."

It is hard to account for this extraordinary enthusiasm for the effeminate Otho, who, according to Juvenal, plastered his face with bread poultices and carried his mirror with him to the battle-field.¹ He must have had some *trait* which appealed strongly to the soldiery. One recalls a somewhat similar case during the recent Boer war.

It is no small triumph to come with advantage out of a comparison with Tacitus. We have not space here to set beside each other the Plutarchean and Thucydidean narratives of the last days of Nicias, but a reader of Thucydides² and of Plutarch³ will find, we think, in the former, fine as it is, nothing so touching as the last words of Plutarch's twenty-sixth chapter:—

"While all were weeping and wailing in their terror and agony of mind, Nicias, sick though he was, seldom broke down. When he did, it was plain that he was not thinking of himself, but of the ignominious issue of the expedition and the collapse of the soaring ambition of Athens. What struck people most was the *injustice* of his fate,—a feeling that was aggravated when they remembered how he had argued and pleaded against the disastrous invasion of Sicily. Indeed, in some their trust in Providence experienced a severe shock, when they saw a man of such eminence, of such unimpeachable life and exemplary piety, involved

(1) *Speculum civilis sarcina belli*, Sat., ii., 103.

(2) vii., 86.

(3) *Nicias*, xxvi-xxviii.

in the same ruin with the most degraded and abandoned of the rank and file."

But let us no more compare Plutarch with the artists of the ancient world. Let us hasten to his crowning triumph, to the fact that the Master Mind of all time, the Artist of Artists, not only drew from him the materials for his amazing pictures of the ancient world, but sometimes transferred to his plays whole scenes from the "Lives" with scarcely a phrase or a word altered or modified. Had Plutarch never written his "Lives," or had they not been translated by some sympathetic mind like Sir Thomas North's, it is very unlikely that the world would ever have had "Coriolanus," "Julius Cæsar," or "Antony and Cleopatra." The whole play of "Julius Cæsar" is to be found in Plutarch, and often the very wording of North's version is adopted unaltered; oftener, however, a happy touch is dwelt on and developed,—the lines deepened or the color heightened. A good example of the latter mode of dealing with the materials is afforded by Antony's speech in "Julius Cæsar," perhaps the finest specimen in literature of the orator's art and its influence on an urban multitude. Here is the fine passage¹ in Plutarch which Shakespeare's art has immortalized:—

"To conclude his oration he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruel and cursed murderers."

We all know the grand passage in "Julius Cæsar":—

"If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle: I remember
The first time Cæsar ever put it on;
'T was on a summer's evening in his tent:
That day he overcame the Nervii.
Look, in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:
See what a rent the envious Casca made:
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd,
And, as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Cæsar followed it,
As rushing out of doors to be resolved
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd or no.
For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel."²

The final words in the passage of Plutarch about "calling them murderers" find their poetic consecration in

"O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
That I am meek and gentle with these butchers."

(1) *Ant.*, 14.

(2) *iii.*, 2, 174-185.

Here we have the original Greek passage treated with great freedom and, perhaps, in one place a little spoiled by one of those conceits which were so dear to the Elizabethan age, and which even Shakespeare could not resist. Throughout the play of "Antony and Cleopatra" the correspondence with Plutarch is modified by the fact that Antony, as he was and as Plutarch portrayed him, would not have made a hero of tragedy. The coarse ruffian and debauchee is refined by Shakespeare into the victim of the spells of an eastern enchantress, a Ulysses in the toils of Circe or Calypso, but one who is sober and wise enough to recognize that he has lost the world for a woman, even though he count it well lost, one who is able to sum up his ruined career in the pathetic words, "I have lost my way in the world."

But in this play there is one perfect example of the confidence with which the "myriad-minded" Englishman was content to put himself into the hands of the simple Bœotian, borrowing from him every artistic touch, and adding only the dramatic framework. Greece took captive her proud Roman conqueror, but never had she a greater triumph over posterity than when a Greek wrote a scene on which not even a Shakespeare could make an improvement.

The final scene of Cleopatra's life is thus told by Plutarch (North's version):—

"Her death was very sudden, for those whom Cæsar sent to her ran hither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors, they found Cleopatra stark dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women which was called Iras dead at her feet, and her other woman (called Charmion) half dead and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra wore upon her head. One of the soldiers, seeing her, angrily said unto her 'Is that well done, Charmion?' 'Very well,' said she again, 'and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble Kings.' She said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed."

Here is Shakespeare's version accepting every artistic touch and adding practically nothing except the dramatic form and metrical garb.

"Enter the Guard rushing in.

First Guard. Where is the Queen?

Char. Speak softly, wake her not.

First Guard. Cæsar hath sent—

Char. Too slow a messenger.

[*Applies an asp.*]

O, come apace, despatch! I partly feel thee.

First Guard. Approach, ho ! All's not well : Cæsar's beguil'd

Sec. Guard. There's Dolabella sent from Cæsar : call him.

First Guard. What work is here ? Charmian, is this well done ?

Char. It is well done, and fitting for a princess

Descended of so many royal kings

Ah, soldier. [Dies.]

Reënter Dolabella.

Dol. How goes it here ?

Sec. Guard. All dead.

Dol. Cæsar, thy thoughts

Touch their effects in this : thyself art coming

To see perform'd the dreaded act which thou

So sought'st to hinder.

[*Within*] A way there, a way for Cæsar !

Reënter Cæsar and all his train marching.

Dol. O, Sir, you are too sure an augurer,

That you did fear is done.

Cæs. Bravest at the last,

She levell'd at our purposes, and, being royal,

Took her own way. The manner of their deaths ?

I do not see them bleed.

Dol. Who was last with them ?

First Guard. A simple countryman that brought her figs :

This was his basket.

Cæs. Poison'd, then.

First Guard. O, Cæsar,

This Charmian lived but now ; she stood and spake :

I found her trimming up the diadem

On her dead mistress ; tremblingly she stood

And on the sudden dropp'd."

Such is the tale as told by Plutarch, and such is the scene as dramatized by Shakespeare. Even the soldier's indignant question,—probably resting upon some basis of tradition, for who would have imagined such words from a soldier ?—and Charmian's splendid reply are hardly modified. Shakespeare takes here and there words, phrases, even speeches, as by royal right from various writers. But we do not elsewhere find so large and beautiful a picture transferred with every detail to his enduring canvas. In this proud boast Plutarch has no rivals.

Shakespeare is seen at his worst when he puts Holinshed into blank verse, but he rises to his noblest heights in some of his adaptations of Plutarch. It was in his power of realizing a character or scene already sketched in outline, that his consummate genius lay.

(1) *Ant. and Cleop.*, v., 2, 323-347.

The "Coriolanus" not only adopts whole speeches from North's "Plutarch," but is penetrated throughout with the diction and thought of that work. The first sentence of the "Life" is reproduced almost verbally in "Coriolanus," ii., 3, 244 f. "Coriolanus," iii., 1, 69 f.,

"In soothing them we nourish 'gainst our senate
The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition"

has its origin in North's "They nourished against themselves the naughty seed and cockle of insolence and sedition." Sometimes Shakespeare apologizes for an extravagance of fancy or diction in North, as, for instance, where North has "And so the belly, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their folly and said." Shakespeare makes Menenius justify the figure:—

"With a kind of smile
Which ne'er came from the lungs, but even thus—
For, look you, I may make the belly smile
As well as speak—it tauntingly replied."

We add two passages showing how closely Shakespeare adhered to the text of North. Here is the passage on which he built the speech of Coriolanus at the house of Tullus Aufidius, the general of the Volscians:—

"I am Caius Marcius, who hath done to thyself particularly and to all the Volscs generally great hurt and mischief, which I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I bear. For I never had any other benefit nor recompense of the true and painful service I have done and the extreme dangers I have been in but this only surname; a good memory and witness of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest bear me. Indeed, the name only remaineth with me; for the rest the envy and cruelty of the people of Rome have taken from me by the sufferance of the dastardly nobility and magistrates who have forsaken me and let me be banished by the people. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor suitor, to take thy chimney-hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby: for if I had feared death I would not have come hither to have put myself in hazard: but pricked forward with desire to be revenged of them that have thus banished me; which now I do begin in putting my person into the hands of their enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any heart to be wrecked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, speed thee now, and let my misery serve thy turn, and so use it as my services may be a benefit to the Volscs: promising thee that I

will fight with better good will for all you than I did when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly who know the force of the enemy than such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art weary to prove fortune any more, then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee to save the life of him who hath been heretofore thy mortal enemy, and whose service now can nothing help nor pleasure thee."¹

Compare the following passage from North's "Plutarch" with Shakespeare's "Coriolanus," v., 3, 94 f.

"If we held our peace, my son, and determined not to speak, the state of our poor bodies and present sight of our raiment would easily bewray to thee what life we have led at home since thy exile and abode abroad; but think now with thyself how much more unfortunate than all the women living we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spiteful fortune had made most fearful to us, making myself to see my son, and my daughter here her husband, besieging the walls of his native country: so as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adversity and misery, to pray unto the gods and to call to them for aid, is the only thing which plungeth us into most deep perplexity. For we cannot, alas! both together pray for victory to our country and for safety of thy life also; but a world of grievous curses, yea more than any mortal enemy can heap upon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers * * * Moreover, my son, thou hast sorely taken of thy country, exacting grievous payments upon them in revenge of the injuries offered thee; besides, thou hast not hitherto showed thy poor mother any courtesy. And, therefore, it is not only honest, but due unto me, that without compulsion I should obtain my so just and reasonable request of thee."

The scene in "Coriolanus," v., 3, where Volumnia employs the child Marcius to work upon his father has a pathetic touch not in Plutarch:—

"Speak thou, boy,
Perhaps thy childishness will move him more
Than can our reasons."

Minor loans from North's "Plutarch" will be recognized in "Timon of Athens" compared with Plutarch's "Antonius," 38, and "Alcibiades," 4; and in "Midsummer Night's Dream," ii., 1, 75-80, where Shakespeare takes the name Perigenia from Plutarch's "Theseus," 1, Ariadne

(1) *Cor.*, iv., 5, 65 f.

from *ib.*, 3, Ægle from *ib.*, 4, and Antiopa and Hippolyta from *ib.*, 8. Indeed, almost all the foreign names in Shakespeare come from Plutarch. The strange name Caphis in "Timon" is found in Plutarch's "Sulla." Hannibal, in "Measure for Measure," ii., 1, no doubt comes from Plutarch, and so does the story of Alexander and Clitus, alluded to in "Henry V.," iv., 7, 41. In "Julius Cæsar," iv., 3, 178, "Cicero being one," looks very like a reminiscence of Plutarch, "Brutus," 20, "and among that number Cicero was one." "*Et tu Brute*" appears in "Julius Cæsar," iii., 1, 77, but not in Plutarch.

As a psychologist Plutarch might be compared advantageously with Seneca, but the latter is theoretical while the former is practical. Plutarch thoroughly understands human character, observes it with great intelligence, and describes it luminously; but he observes as a man, not as a metaphysician, to borrow a shrewd observation from Emerson. He sounds the depths and scales the heights of the great problems of existence, but, like Tennyson's shepherd, he loves not the heights,

"Nor cares to walk

With Death and Morning on the silver horns."

Like Love, Plutarch is "of the valley" and "by the happy threshold." "He has a taste," writes Emerson, "for common life. He knows the farm, the forge, the kitchen, and every kitchen utensil." He revels in "the little murmur of the burg" of Chæroneæ, but he is far from mistaking it for "the great wave that rolls around the world." It would be pleasant to follow Plutarch into his private life, to sketch the Greek village of the first century after Christ, to examine his views on love, and on marriage, which he makes a very prosaic relation, enlivened only by the excursions and alarums of the mother-in-law, who even at that early period of the world's history had begun to make herself felt. But all this would afford material enough for another essay. We will now make a few observations on a couple of the best and most suggestive of his moral treatises, that on Superstition, called by Wytttenback "*liber vere Plutarcheus*," and that on the "Delays in Divine Justice," concluding with some general remarks on Plutarch's method and style.

The moralists of the ancient world, Seneca, Persius, Juvenal, Lucian, have been bitter satirists. Even Persius when he describes himself (far from accurately) as a laugh^{er}, (*cachinno*) adds "with an angry spleen." But Plutarch is never bitter, never applies even the light lash of Horace, under which Persius says his victims smiled. He pities the sufferers from the plague of superstition, and tries to alleviate their miseries and excuse their weakness. Superstition is not so great an error as atheism,

but it entails more suffering. He compares the atheist to the man who is color blind. He lacks a great source of happiness, but he never had it and does not know what it is. The man who is stone deaf does not suffer like him whose want of ear turns harmonies into discords. The superstitious man sees in every little "contretemps" of every-day life a clear sign of the anger of Heaven and its determination to punish him. Even sleep is turned into a source of terror. "Reversing the pleasing remark of Pythagoras that we are made better by coming into the presence of the gods, he feels as if the temples which he enters were full of serpents." He puts God in a worse light than the atheist. "For my part," says Plutarch, "I would rather have a man say of me 'there is no such person as Plutarch' than 'Plutarch is unreasonable, passionate, vindictive, a man who, if you left him out of a supper party through inadvertence, or had not time to pay him a visit, would slander you and even ruin you.'" In fine, while the atheist says "there is no God," the superstitious man says "I would there were not." The wise man he describes as standing "on sound solid ground between the bogs of superstition and the quagmires of atheism."

The treatise on the "Delays of Divine Justice" is full of profound remarks, among which one finds a complete recognition of heredity, and the devolution on the children of the sins of the father. The remark of Cotton is anticipated, which we cannot accurately quote in English, but of which we happen to recollect the late Benjamin Hall Kennedy's happy rendering in an elegiac couplet:—

"Justitia gaudere Deum sic collige: poenas
Qui meruere timent, qui timuere luunt."

The treatise is an attempt to lead an age, prone to deny God or disfigure Him, back to the god of Plato. Plutarch has no doubt of the immortality of the soul. "Miserable man," he exclaims, "is he who shuts the gates of another life. He is like a man who, overtaken by a storm at sea, would say to his fellow voyagers 'we have no pilot to steer or star to guide us. But what matter? We shall soon be dashed against the rocks or engulfed in the abyss.'" But a complete treatment of this delightful treatise would lead us into a discussion about the religion of the first century of the Christian era.

Niebuhr, to the great injury of his reputation for literary or psychological insight, called the "Lives" a collection of silly anecdotes, and others have accused Plutarch of not duly weighing his authorities. But the charge cannot be sustained. For instance, he warns his readers of

the chronological difficulties which beset the story of the interview between Solon and Cræsus; but that does not seem to him a sufficient reason for suppressing a tale so instructive and so natural. Besides, we find him expressly weighing rival authorities, as in the forty-sixth chapter of his "Alexander," where he recites the evidence for and against Alexander's relations with the Amazonian queen, and decides against the story. In a similar spirit, in "Lysander," he rejects the tale of a characteristic correspondence between Lysander and the Ephors, who, receiving from him the despatch, "Athens is taken," said, "taken would have been quite sufficient." Plutarch's comment is, in effect, that the anecdote is *ben trovato*, but that there is no positive evidence for its truth. It is suspiciously like other tales illustrating the Spartan love of laconic speech. In like manner in "Themistocles," 25, he rejects a statement of Stesimbrotus, quoting against him Theophrastus and Thucydides; and in many other places we find him exercising the same caution.

The style of Plutarch has been almost universally admired, but there have been dissentients. Johnson found it cramped, and Boissonade described it as a mosaic, apparently because he makes his style fit his theme, and according to its requirements employs the language of the historian, the poet, the naturalist, and the metaphysician. Chateaubriand said he was "un agréable imposteur en tours naïfs," and another French critic has said that he owes to his French translator, Amyot, any charm that he possesses. But M. Gréard, in his excellent work on Plutarch's "Morals," puts the case in its true light. Plutarch had a real candor and geniality of spirit. His cultivation of rhetoric modified these qualities, but was very far from eradicating them. "How is it," remarked a French statesman, "that French boys of ten are so charmingly clever, and French youths of twenty-four so intolerably stupid? It is the effect of education, I suppose." But education did not debauch the style of Plutarch. It left it as simple as his life. Of course we do not find in him the naïveté of primitive literature, but still less are we met by the artificial simplicity of periods of literary decadence. The "tours naïfs" of Plutarch are leaps of a mind which lets itself out, not the taught somersaults of the gymnasium. He does not seek for his effects, they drop from him, as the jewels dropped from the lips of the good princess in the fairy tale. Plutarch was an enormously wide reader, but it cannot be said of him, as it can be said of many learned men, that he put out the fire by heaping on the coals. He obeys the Horatian precept:—

"Si vis me flere, dolendum est

Primum ipsi tibi,"

and when he is warmed by his theme he never allows his readers to be cold.

THE EMANCIPATION OF BELGIUM FROM THE DUTCH

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I.

THE kingdom of the Netherlands was the name given to the political union, in 1814, under the Dutch Prince, William of Orange-Nassau, of the two countries of Belgium and Holland. It was an union which was, so to speak, born on the battle-field and imposed by the overpowering force which the anti-Napoleonic league, known as the Holy Alliance, wielded for the settlement of the map of Europe. Deep lines of cleavage, differences of race, of aptitudes, but above all of religion, separated the two countries thus linked together in what was at best a "marriage de convenance."

The Dutch themselves would probably have preferred to a monarchy the restitution of their old and glorious republic. But the European states, which on the field of Leipzig had shattered the strength of Napoleon and rung the death-knell of his continental system, were afraid of republics. The Dutch in particular, under the not wholly unpopular régime of Louis Napoleon, had been partly broken in to the idea of a monarchy, and were not averse to a new sovereign who was one of themselves, a son of the "Stadhouder" they had driven into exile in 1787, and who promised to safeguard all their ancient liberties. Thus in his proclamation to his new subjects issued early in December, 1813, William of Nassau used the following words:—

"Men of the Low Countries, you wish me to become in your regard more than I could ever have been, had not my term of exile intervened. Your trust in me, your affection for my person, place the sceptre in my hands, and I am urged on all sides to accept it, because my country's circumstances and the state of Europe require it. Well, I will sacrifice my scruples to your wishes. I accept what the Low Countries offer me. But I only accept it under the restrictions of a wisely drawn constitution, which will guarantee your liberties and safeguard them from every sort of attack."

It cannot be denied that subsequent events fully justified the choice for the Dutch of this prince by the powers of the Holy Alliance. He speedily won the confidence and affections of Dutchmen. He under-

stood them and they him, and within a few years' time they were willing to make the greatest sacrifices, and at his advice and bidding to run the risk of incurring national disaster for a cause which was detestable in itself, and valueless to them, but which he was able to persuade them was bound up with the freedom and dignity of Holland.

On March 30, 1814, the new constitution for the United States of Holland, thus transformed into a monarchy, was promulgated. Belgium did not at first come into the scheme. In fact, only three weeks earlier, on March 9, 1814, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, when he entered Brussels at the head of the troops of the Holy Alliance, published a proclamation in which he gave prominence to the hope that "the old prosperity of Belgium might be revived under the ægis of order and repose." "Her *independence*," he added, "is no longer in dispute."

Belgium, though not independent, had been, nevertheless, prosperous under the imperial French régime, which opened a vast empire to her industrial products, secured to her a free exit for them through the Scheldt from the port of Antwerp, and by its tariffs secured her from English competition. The Walloons, who inhabit the provinces of Hainault, Liège, Luxembourg, and Namur, speak a tongue closely allied to French, while the Flemings, who occupy the provinces of Antwerp, Brabant, the two Flanders, and Limbourg, though their literary language is now identical with Dutch, were in 1814 bound up with the Walloons by all the ties of a common religion and of common traditions. It has required seventy years of political union for these two strata of the Belgian population to discover that they talk different tongues, and to make that fact a reason for squabbling one with the other. This dissension is very lamentable, and sensible observers must wish that they may find a *mòdus vivendi*, and live in harmony as the several cantons of Switzerland, though parted by deeper differences, succeed in doing.

The future of Belgium was a hard problem for the diplomats of 1814 to solve. One principle guided all their deliberations, and that was the necessity of separating her from France, of preventing her from ever again entering into a political union with her mighty neighbor. To effect such an union, Louis XIV. had lavished life and treasure, and was foiled in his attempt only by the resistance of England and of her continental allies. The great Napoleon had for a short time realized the baffled project of Louis XIV., but it could not be again permitted, now that he was vanquished. What, then, was to become of Belgium? The Austrian Empire, which had, by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, inherited it from the failing hands of Spain, and had in spite of vicissitudes controlled it until December, 1789, was felt to be too far away. Nor could

it be included in the German confederation, both because it was ill-suited to be a member thereof, and because such a plan excited the jealousies of strong neighbors. Two courses were left open: either to integrate it in the newly established kingdom of William of Orange-Nassau, or to elevate it into an independent state. The powers of the Holy Alliance, which dealt with small peoples very much as if they were pawns on the chess-board, and without too much regard for their susceptibilities, decided on the former course. Accordingly, on February 9, 1814, the new Dutch sovereign was called to Brussels to be consulted. But the project was not divulged at once, and on May 2, 1814, when William opened at The Hague the first meeting of the Dutch States General, he did not mention the large accession which was shortly to be made to his realm. On May 30, however, of the same year, there was signed by the representatives of the great powers, that had temporarily dismounted Bonaparte, a treaty according to the sixth article of which Holland was to receive such an accession of territory. On June 20 of the same year, the precise bases of the union were decided upon by the powers in what was afterwards called the Fundamental Law, and making the newly appointed King of Holland their adviser-in-chief as to the new status to be accorded to Belgium, and hardly consulting the Belgians at all. He took care that half of the old debt of Holland should be borne by Belgians, largely accumulated though it had been in attempts to cripple their trade and industries. In the case of his own countrymen he also succeeded in extorting much better financial terms from the European congress, for England agreed to pay the Dutch a sum approaching six millions sterling as compensation not merely for Demerara and the Cape of Good Hope which we retained, but also for the repair and maintenance of the line of great fortresses in the south of Belgium, by means of which the Dutch were in the future, as often in the past, to keep the French at bay.

On June 30, 1814, the new King of Holland came to Brussels, where his son was already installed in command of the English troops. A month later, on July 31, he was invested with full civil authority, and at once issued a proclamation to the citizens in which he represented himself as the mandatory of the allied powers, and announced that their congress then met at Vienna had resolved on the union under his crown of Holland and Belgium. He also seized the occasion to reimpose various taxes. This was not a popular action, and his new subjects were still more irritated when, on November 6, he issued a decree abolishing trial by jury in Belgium in criminal cases. The Dutch were not affected by this, for they had never been attached to the institution, but the Belgians were beholding what they regarded as a palladium of their

liberties taken away by a stroke of the pen. By the same decree their judges were made removable at the pleasure of the executive, and all through the fifteen years which followed, the precarious position of the judges and their liability to removal, provided the Dutch king with a prime means of repressing popular feeling. Publicity of the pleadings in law courts was suspended by the same decree and was not restored until June, 1830.

On March 16, 1815, the Prince of Orange-Nassau, who already had adopted the title of king, notified the States General of Holland of the new dignity he had assumed. This was just four days prior to Napoleon's entry into Paris. Belgium was to be the theatre of resistance to the escaped hero of Elba, so there may have been good reason for imposing on a populace full of secret sympathy with the French cause the severest restrictions. Whether this were the reason or not, the new king anyhow availed himself of the position of dictator, conferred on him by the allied troops assembled in Brussels, to promulgate for his Belgian subjects an ukase, which for long years afterwards was enforced by the courts, as if it were an organic law of the state. In virtue of this edict, only justifiable under a state of siege and never intended for times of peace, "All who should utter or circulate rumors, tidings, or news of a kind to excite or alarm the public; all who by their actions or writings should try to arouse the inhabitants of the land to defiance, disunion, or strife, were liable to be punished, either for separate offences or cumulatively, by being put in the stocks for a space of one to six hours, by degradation, branding, imprisonment for a term of one to six years, with fine of one hundred to ten thousand francs; without prejudice to the offenders being liable to be condemned to forced labor and even to capital punishment, if the circumstances should be so grave as to warrant it. The charges to be tried before a special and extraordinary commission, which shall judge summarily and without appeal or remedy; the execution of each sentence not to be deferred for more than twenty-four hours."

It is obvious that almost any utterance of legitimate opinion could be construed as an offence under an edict containing terms so vague as "trouble," "defiance," "alarm," "strife," and the abuse of the authority thus usurped culminated in the condemnation under it, on December 20, 1828, of the Belgian patriot, De Potter, to eighteen months' imprisonment and a fine of one thousand florins for writing two letters in the "Courrier des Pays-Bas," in which he urged the Belgian liberals to make common cause with the Roman church against the oppressions of the Dutch government.

The French revolutionary influence had, even before the end of the eighteenth century, created a strong body of liberal opinion in Belgium, where, under the Austrian régime, the church had, as always, abused its privileges and exercised its powers to stamp out progressive ideas. These liberals hailed with joy in 1814 the new fundamental law of union with a Protestant state like Holland, for that law was more liberal than the old charters under which they had groaned. The king was by it bound, before taking important steps, to consult the council of state of twenty-four members, to be chosen impartially from Belgium and Holland alike: not but that the king governed as well as reigned, for there was no ministerial responsibility, and after consulting his council, he could follow his own convictions. Practically the only serious constitutional limit set to his power lay in the two chambers: a higher one of forty to sixty members chosen, as in theory is our own House of Peers, by the crown, and a lower one of one hundred members elected, half from Holland, half from Belgium, by the three orders of nobles, citizens, and country people. The king, however, created the nobles, and to that extent exercised an undue leverage over the popular chamber. The system was otherwise unjust, in so far as Belgium with her three and a half millions of population returned only the same number of representatives as did Holland with her two millions. The king could usually depend on a section of the Belgian nobles to vote with him, and so defeat the wishes of that half of his realm. Parliament so constituted could neither amend laws nor impeach ministers, but it could reject new laws and budget projects, and it also had free right to criticize the administration. The fundamental law, furthermore, specially recognized liberty of the press, right of petition, individual liberty, inviolability of domicile, and irremovability of the judges. Many of the rights so recognized were, however, annulled or rendered nugatory by the retention, as an integral part of the constitution, of the drumhead decree of April, 1815.

Liberty of conscience was also guaranteed, and also the equal right of all subjects, from whatever part of the kingdom, to state employment and patronage. The care of education was in set words intrusted to the government, and this provision, while it caused the Roman bishops and clergy to gnash their teeth, filled Belgian liberals with hope. From this liberal party was mainly drawn the minority of five hundred and twenty-seven Belgian notables who voted for this fundamental law. As many as one thousand, six hundred and three had been chosen out and summoned by royal mandate from all over the country, to meet in Brussels towards the close of 1815 and pronounce a simple verdict of yes or no, for or against the fundamental law of union drawn up by the powers of

Europe. Only one thousand, three hundred and twenty-three really appeared, and the majority of these, seven hundred and ninety-six in number, rejected it. By a juggle, however, the Dutch king pretended that there was a majority in its favor, for he counted on his side the two hundred and eighty who did not appear, and struck off one hundred and twenty-six of the voters against it, because they had given reasons for rejecting it, instead of a simple *No*. The entire one thousand, six hundred and three had, it should be remarked, been originally selected by Dutch registrars in a gerrymandering way, because they were reckoned to be safe partisans of the new scheme and of the Prince of Orange, for or against whose régime their votes were to decide. With considerable effrontery the king next proclaimed to Europe that the majority of the notables so convened were in favor of the fundamental law of union, when in fact not a third of them were so.

No régime ever began so inauspiciously ; nor could it possibly succeed, unless the Dutch, who were little more than half as numerous as their Belgian fellow subjects, displayed the utmost tact and impartiality. Instead of doing so, they gave free rein from the first to their oligarchical instincts, and the interests of Holland were all in all. The Dutch fleet and army were immediately reorganized and developed, while the Belgians were made to bear more than half the cost, at the same time that they were excluded from all save the meanest positions in both services. They were, indeed, allowed to go through the drudgery of serving in the ranks, but in 1816, two years after the union, only sixteen out of eighty-five generals were Belgian. Three out of four officers in the artillery were Dutch as were all the officers of the royal guard. From the navy Belgians were wholly excluded. The same unfair apportionment of authority was observable in the civil bureaucracy, where two hundred and forty-four posts were filled by Dutchmen, and only sixty-five, or about one fifth, by Belgians; of eight ministers of state but a single one represented the larger of the two nationalities; of twenty-eight diplomatic agents abroad, but one. It was, as Sylvain Van de Weyer declared, the despotism of Napoleon, without his genius, without his glory, without his success and talent. It was absolutism hypocritically disguised under the forms of representative government.

The language regulations imposed by the Dutch were most galling of all. Flemish, though spoken by many of the Belgians, was not a literary language, and they wrote in French, which was all over the country the language of commerce and of education. Yet from 1814 on, all pleading in the courts had to be in the Dutch tongue. The government also decreed that no contract or document of any sort should

be binding unless written in Dutch,—a regulation which arbitrarily deprived of their means of subsistence thousands of Belgian lawyers and legal employés. In every respect Belgium was treated like a conquered country, to be exploited to the utmost. It was governed by Dutchmen, for Dutchmen, and through Dutchmen. The right of petition was ignored; the press muzzled, the Roman bishops bullied, lectured, and fined by a Calvinist monarch who, from the first, never took any steps to abate their natural distrust of him. To be a Belgian was to be disqualified for any post. The Russian government in its present mad attempt to Russianize the Finns “à l’outrance” is hardly so callous and arbitrary as were William of Nassau and his two million Dutchmen.

The taxation in particular was arranged so as to hit the three and one half millions of Belgians, and to save the pockets of the Dutch minority. Not only did the Belgians, as I have pointed out, contribute most to an army and navy from which they were excluded, but they paid for the making and maintenance of the Dutch dykes. Their staple foodstuffs were rendered doubly dear by two state imposts known as the “mouture,” or tax on meal, and the “abattage,” or tax on the slaughter of animals. It was forbidden to a Belgian farmer by the former tax to grind his own corn at home or to mix it with other grain in whatever proportion he chose. He was obliged to take it to a licensed mill to be ground, at certain hours only, and to pay for a permit before he sent it there. The other tax was still more oppressive. He had to pay for a state permit to kill even his own pig, and had to go for that permit to a collector who might live miles away.

The union with Holland, as I have indicated, had at first the approval of Belgian liberals, but their good will was quickly alienated. They had welcomed, to begin with, the king’s large and liberal schemes for a higher education, untrammelled by the priests; they had recognized his encouragement of Belgian art and industry. Yet in the end they were driven to make common cause with the Catholics, as were the Catholics with them; and thus the foundations of modern Belgium were laid.

In November, 1828, a Belgian deputy, M. Ch. de Brouckere, enumerated in the tribune of the lower chamber at The Hague the many petty prosecutions to which the press had been subjected under the hateful law or decree of April 20, 1815, and demanded its abrogation. This was refused, but his action was the signal for the raising in Brussels of a monster petition in favor of freedom of the press. At the same time the city of Ghent, the stronghold of the clericals, petitioned for liberty of public instruction, which the Dutch government kept strictly in its own

hands. The liberals and the clericals now sank their differences, and within a month seven eighths of the Catholic petitioners had signed for the guarantees demanded by the liberals, and seven eighths of the latter for those demanded by them. Both parties united in the demand for liberty of instruction, of religion, of the press, of language, for irremovable judges, for a restoration of trial by jury, for ministerial responsibility. In March, 1829, M. Ch. Lebon proposed in the lower chamber that these petitions of the people be laid before the king, and his proposal was seconded by an enlightened deputy for Amsterdam. But the king's nominees in the upper house rejected the project. Yet for a moment the absolutist monarch seems to have hesitated; for the enactment of April, 1815, which had never been intended to be more than temporary, was now, after fourteen years' abuse of it, in May, 1829, at last withdrawn, and a more liberal press law passed in its stead. Nevertheless, prominent victims of the old enactment, like M. de Potter, were kept in prison. Other small concessions to popular feeling followed: for example, a Catholic was appointed to preside as minister over Belgian ecclesiastical affairs; French was once more allowed to take its place with the Dutch as an official language, and the clerical authorities of the Louvain Seminary were left to educate their priests as they liked. But these concessions were too late, even if they had not been accompanied by new acts of unreasoning severity in other directions.

Among such acts may be mentioned the ill treatment of a Belgian deputy, M. de Stassart, for voting against the budget. He was deprived of a pension which he had enjoyed for fifteen years for services rendered to the state. A vast subscription was at once raised to make it up to him, and the body of subscribers developed into a great anti-Dutch organization, ramifying far and wide. A few months later, on December 11, 1829, a new press law superseding the milder one of May was promulgated by royal authority. It inflicted up to three years of imprisonment,—with double term for a second offence,—upon all who “should be guilty of attacks upon existing laws or excite disobedience to them; all who should be guilty of disturbing or endangering public safety by *sowing dissension*, fomenting alarm or suspicion; also all who should *attack* or insult the government or any one of its departments, should outrage its acts, *calumniate its intentions*, or *try to sap its authority*.”

Under such clauses as are here italicized all legitimate protests against injustice could be construed as crime and were intended to be. The royal allocution with which this fierce law was introduced was a direct challenge and affront to the Belgian majority: “In the midst of external peace and internal tranquility,” said William of Nassau, “in a

time of industrial prosperity, under a repeal of moderate laws and of political and civil liberty, we see a handful of our subjects, cajoled by the exaggerations and worked up by the frothy speeches of mischievous agitators, despise all these blessings and range themselves in a dangerous and scandalous manner in opposition to the government, to the laws, and to my paternal intentions. The license of the press, of that press whose freedom we desired to assure on a wider basis than anywhere else in Europe, has unhappily only too much helped to sow disquiet, discord, and distrust; and to spread doctrines no less subversive of social institutions, whatever may be the form of government, than they are utterly opposed to the government of the Netherlands as established by the fundamental law."

Such words contained a menace for all Belgians devoted to their country. The resounding appeals of De Potter, heard even through the walls of his prison, had reached the hearts of the people. Liberals and Catholics were at last joined in common detestation of a government which had shown itself nakedly and shamelessly a yoke of aliens. The editors and printers of all the Belgian papers, whether liberal or Catholic, were now in prison or in exile. Belgium was ripe for revolution. The train was laid, and all that was wanted to produce an explosion was a spark. It was a revolution in Paris which here, as in Poland, applied the match.

The French Bourbon, Charles X., and his minister, Polignac, had definitely broken with public opinion by their policy, obstinately and blindly pursued, of counter revolution. The French chamber which opposed them had been dissolved in the spring of 1830, but the elections of August, in spite of all the chicanery of Bourbon prefects, returned a chamber still more devoted to liberty than the one so arbitrarily dismissed. Then the King of France, in rivalry of his Dutch fellow sovereign, issued an ukase abolishing liberty of the press, canceling the old electoral system, and instituting a new one calculated to produce a chamber less popular but more pliable to his will. Paris at once appealed to its customary right of insurrection. The populace overcame the half hearted troops sent against them, and almost in the twinkling of an eye the Bourbon king found himself a refugee in England, his heirs excluded from the throne forever by a popular vote, and his crown presented, on August 9, to the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe.

The Belgians suffered from grievances yet more intolerable than those of Frenchmen, because they were inflicted by aliens. Brussels was not long in following the precedent set by Paris. On August 25 a play, "La Muette," of which the motif was successful revolution, was performed in the opera. The audience, when they left the theatre,

began to demonstrate instead of going home. "Imitons les Parisiens," was the cry. Instantly the mob burst loose. The offices of the pro-Batavian journal were wrecked, and the house of the Dutch minister of justice, Van Maanen, attacked, set on fire, and burned to the ground.

This gentleman had had a checkered career. In 1793-94 he had been a warm partisan of the French Revolution, when he rose from the obscurity of a humble attorney to be secretary of the municipal regency, as the revolutionary committee of Amsterdam artisans called itself. Next, as deputy of the public prosecutor of the revolutionary court, he sentenced scores of loyal partisans of the house of Orange to be flogged, sent to the galleys, and even put to death. Under the king, Louis Napoleon, he saw his chance and became first president of the high court, as well as a councilor of state. In 1813, when the restoration came, he went into hiding, but soon emerged, took a prominent part in the elevation of William of Nassau to the Dutch throne, and was for fifteen years a sort of Dr. Leyds in Belgium, the most trusted and useful instrument of the Dutch oligarchy. To his callous disregard of Belgian sentiment, the revolution in Brussels was chiefly due.

For two days Brussels remained in the hands of the revolutionists. An exasperated mob looted and burned the houses and property belonging to agents of the Dutch government, whose troops, two thousand in number, looked on, afraid to act. At last the respectable citizens organized a burgher guard, five thousand strong, and order was restored. But the turn of events was not in favor of the continuance of Dutch misrule. On the contrary, a riot of the drunken rabble was now turned into a methodic and armed insurrection of sober citizens, who promptly formulated to the Dutch oligarchy demands of the most legitimate kind. The following was their petition to the king:—

"The People of Belgium demand:—

"1. The entire, frank, and sincere execution of the fundamental law, without restriction or interpretation in favor of the government, either by decrees, ministerial circulars, or cabinet rescripts.

"2. The removal from the ministry of the odious and infamous Van Maanen.

"3. The provisional suspension of the tax on slaughtered cattle.

"4. A new electoral system of a most popular kind.

"5. Reëstablishment of trial by jury.

"6. A new law of judiciary organization.

"7. The penal responsibility of ministers established by law.

"8. The location of the high court in the southern provinces.

"9. The cessation of intended prosecutions of liberal writers.

“10. The abrogation of all sentences of condemnation for political offences.”

The immediate answer to this petition was the despatch to Brussels of six thousand Dutch troops. They hesitated, however, to enter the city for fear of provoking a renewal of mob violence. Meanwhile all insignia of the king were torn down within the city, and his emblems effaced from the banners of the burgher guards, who were, nevertheless, formally thanked by the king's son, Prince Frederick of Orange, who headed the Dutch troops, for reëstablishing order. At the same time the king dismissed Van Maanen and convoked the States General at The Hague on September 13. It met, deliberated, and on September 29, by fifty votes to forty-five, and in response to a direct invitation on the part of the king to pronounce on the question, affirmed the necessity of altering the constitution and of granting to Belgium at least a separate administration. Subsequent events, however, proved that the royal invitation to discussion was but a feint in order to gain time, and that William of Nassau was only waiting till he could get together a powerful force to impose afresh his will upon Belgium, with the assent,—so he hoped and expected,—of the powers of the Holy Alliance, especially of despotic Russia.

The king's apparent irresolution, however, only served to embolden the famished mob of Brussels, now reinforced by contingents of discontented artisans from all the neighboring cities. On September 19, it rose afresh, procured arms, overpowered the burgher guards, and established a provisional government. Prince Frederick, the king's son, forthwith threw to the winds all idea of conciliating the rebels, and stormed the city gates on September 23. For four days there was desperate fighting from street to street and house to house. In the end the Dutch were frustrated by the barricades, and had to retire. But the result of the fighting was to complete the breach between the Dutch oligarchy and the Belgians. Henceforth no political union even of the loosest sort was to be thought of as practicable.

The fundamental law of union had been fixed by the treaty of May, 1814, and the prior act of the congress of Vienna. It was reaffirmed in the treaty of Paris of November, 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, and the reconstituted French government only then became an assenting party to it. On October 5, 1830, the King of Holland, as he may now be called since he had lost Belgium, appealed to the signatory powers, England, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, to aid him in reëstablishing by force of arms his authority over his revolted subjects. Russia alone fell in with the project and mobilized eighty thousand men. But happily

for Belgium the unfortunate Poles chose that very moment to rebel, and the troops were required to repress their rising. Thus the Belgians in a manner owe their independence to the Poles.

At the same time that King William was seeking aid from Russia he was with much duplicity, or shall we say diplomacy, endeavoring to "play" the Belgians. On the very day, October 5, on which he made his appeal to Russia to help him in his difficulties, he sent his son to Antwerp to humor the Belgians with promises of a separate Belgian administration, united with the Dutch state only by the golden link of a common crown and conducted in accordance with Belgian ideas. There was to be reconciliation and forgiveness. But it was too late. All the Belgian fortresses except Antwerp, Termonde, Maestricht, and Luxembourg on the east, were now in the hands of the Belgians; a provisional government had emerged from the desperate conflict with the Dutch troops, and it refused all overtures, appointed Belgian functionaries in all the provinces, and arranged for a representative national congress to meet on November 8. The congress met in due time and, on November 22 and 24, resolved after deliberation, and by huge majorities: (1) that Belgium should henceforth be governed, not as a republic, but under a constitutional monarchy; and (2) that the family of Orange-Nassau in all its branches should be perpetually debarred from occupying the Belgian throne. Belgian feelings of hostility to Holland were still further embittered by events which took place in Antwerp on October 28. General Chassé was there in command of the Dutch troops, and having ejected all Belgians from his ranks had been forced to retire into the citadel before the Belgians, who, on October 26, had forced the gates and entered the city. From the citadel he commanded the city with his guns, and the Belgians promised to let him alone, if he would let them alone. It was impossible, however, to restrain disbanded troopers and hostile townsmen, and in violation of the armistice they proceeded to attack the arsenal. General Chassé thereupon bombarded the city, laid the half of it in ruins, and compelled the Belgians to beat a retreat.

The Dutch king had appealed, as we saw, to the five signatory powers. Their plenipotentiaries met early in November, 1830, in London. They were Count Esterhazy for Austria, Talleyrand for France, Bülow for Prussia, Matuszewic for Russia, for our own country at first Lord Aberdeen, but from November 30, onwards, Lord Palmerston. It was his masterful and liberal intelligence, combined with a readiness to intervene by force when necessary, which alone overcame the mingled violence and shuffling of the Dutch king, and more than two years later brought the negotiations to a successful issue.

The Belgians in the seventy years which have passed since their emancipation, have shown that Palmerston's labors were not wasted. But no one foresaw in 1830 that the rebels,—as they then appeared to be to conservative minds,—would display so much statecraft; and the outlook was all the darker because of the secret ambitions cherished by several of the powers. Russia would have liked to restore the tottering despotism of the Dutch. France hoped to recover in Belgium a flourishing province which she had lost: England and Germany were resolved to frustrate any such scheme. The national congress in Belgium proceeded, in January, 1831, to elect a king. They dreamed at first of having a scion of the Bonapartes, the Duc de Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Beauharnais, as their king, but all the great powers at once joined in vetoing the scheme. Then they chose the Duc de Nemours, second son of the new French monarch, but that choice savored too much of annexation to France for any of the other powers to tolerate it, and the candidate himself declined the honor on February 14, 1831. After a regency of nearly four months to give them time to deliberate, they at last, on June 4, pitched upon Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, widower of our own Princess Charlotte. In July he accepted the position, and on July 16, left London and entered Brussels amid the acclamations of the populace. The Belgians could not have made a wiser or a better choice.

Their troubles, however, were only just beginning. On September 7, 1830, the Dutch king first applied to the five great powers, soliciting their intervention. The bloody scenes of August and September of that year, however, convinced their plenipotentiaries that it was out of the question that the two countries should remain under one crown, and their first efforts were to enforce an armistice on them and put a stop to bloodshed. It was felt that, if an internecine strife was allowed to continue between them, it might soon involve all Europe in a vast conflagration. Accordingly, it was proposed in a first protocol of November 4, 1830, that each nation should retire behind the line which had separated them before May, 1814, when they were first united in one kingdom. This did not quite please the Belgians, for all the western half of the duchy of Luxembourg, which is Walloon, and which King William governed, not as king of Holland, but as a member of the German confederation, was as much in revolt as the Flanders. It was a principal centre of rebellion and had sent representatives to the new national congress at Brussels. The Belgians naturally refused to sacrifice so integral a part of their country, and the justice of their cause was ultimately recognized by the five plenipotentiaries, in spite of difficulties raised by the Dutch, as early as May 21, 1831.

On the other side, the King of Holland pledged himself in November to accept the armistice and to leave the eventual settlement of the embroglio in the hands of the five powers. But he immediately proceeded to evade the terms of his pledge, which were to cease hostilities by sea as well as by land, for he continued to keep the mouth of the Scheldt closed. The Dutch then, as today, held both sides of this great estuary for some miles up from the sea, and were, therefore, able to prevent any ships from going up to or down from Antwerp, the only great port which belonged to Belgium. Against this culpable evasion of the protocol of November 4, 1830, the British commissioner, Thomas Cartwright, sent from London to superintend the suspension of hostilities between the two parties, sent the following spirited protest to Lord Palmerston on December 7, 1830: "It was decided by the plenipotentiaries that the blockade of the Scheldt should be raised on the suspension of hostilities, because it was an act of hostility, and his Netherland Majesty then takes measures within his grasp, which render the effect to be produced by the raising of that blockade, totally nugatory * * * if his Majesty is permitted, by such subterfuges, to counteract the measures to which he stands engaged, the Belgians fear that, when they shall have accepted the protocol of November 4, they may still further be subjected to vexatious proceedings on the part of the Dutch government."

Equally in defiance of the protocol which they had accepted, the Dutch closed the sluices of the canals in Dutch Flanders so as to flood the fields of their antagonists far and wide. When, later on, the latter claimed indemnity for the immense harm thus done to them, the Dutch plenipotentiaries replied, on September 26, 1831, that, so far from their owing any reparation on that score, it was rather the Belgians who owed them an indemnity, "on account of the *moral inundations* which the revolt in Belgium had *caused* in regard to the value of their public funds and properties." The phrase, *moral inundation*, is good, and recalls to one the "*moral* and intellectual damage" inflicted on the Boers by the Raid, and valued at one million sterling by President Kruger.

These displays of contumacy and bad faith on the part of the Dutch were a mere prelude to what was to come. Such conduct indicated but too plainly that their formal acceptance, as early as February 18, 1831, of the bases intended to establish the separation of Belgium from Holland, bases fixed by the conference of the five powers, was a mere pretence, and that they were only waiting till their army was ready to reimpose their yoke on the detested Belgians. As late as August 1, 1831, their foreign minister, Verstolk de Soelen, professed his anxiety to discuss, draw up, and sign a treaty of separation between Holland and Belgium.

He had, he declared, received instructions to that effect from his sovereign, who "had never ceased to give proofs of his sincere desire to coöperate in an arrangement and so assure to the best of his ability the blessing of peace to his peoples and to Europe, and he was still animated by the same sentiments."

It is almost incredible that the Dutch sovereign, when he used such language as the above, was already meditating an armed onslaught on the Belgians and their newly elected king, and had actually set his army in motion. Yet it was so. On August 4, his son, the Prince of Orange, invaded Flanders with a force of forty-five thousand veterans. Advancing rapidly, and with much strategic skill, he destroyed first the hastily collected force of General Daine near Haselt, towards the Meuse, and then that of King Leopold near Louvain. The Belgian army consisted of raw levies, and the force which invaded them had been equipped out of taxation paid by themselves. In a few days Belgium was prostrate, and the city of Brussels, in which King Leopold had taken refuge, lay open to assault.

Such a perfidious interruption of diplomacy by armed violence obliged the European congress to act. It took the plenipotentiaries by surprise, for the Dutch envoy, interrogated but a few days previously about the movement of troops in Holland, had assured them that they were intended to be used inside the country.

King Leopold had no way left of saving his new-born kingdom except to appeal for aid to the French government of Louis Philippe. The assent of England was obtained, and the French army instantly crossed the frontier in four divisions and reached Brussels just in time to save that city from occupation by the Dutch. Their invasion was checked, and their army was forced to retire into Holland almost as quickly as it came. At the same time the English fleet had been sent across the North Sea to menace the Dutch harbors, and the fear of an English landing materially hastened the king's retreat from an "impasse" into which combined obstinacy and bad faith had led him.

In spite of the clamors of a strong party in France in favor of the annexation of Belgium, as the only way of permanently excluding the Dutch oligarchy from renewing its schemes of reconquest, the French king loyally withdrew his army in the autumn of 1831, and a fresh armistice was enforced on the two countries. The conference of the five powers took advantage of the lull to draw up fresh bases for the independence of Belgium. In a new treaty of twenty-four articles they fixed these bases and dealt with the three points in regard to which there was most difference of opinion between the two little powers. The

Walloon or western half of Luxembourg was, with the assent of the Germanic confederation, given to Belgium, which in return gave up to Holland the northern half of the Limbourg province, along with the fortresses of Venlo and of Maestricht on the Meuse. Belgium was also content that Holland should retain her territory along the southern bank of the Scheldt opposite Flushing. She also consented to take over half of the old Dutch debt, which Holland had amassed before 1814. The new frontier gave Holland on the east side of Belgium a long, narrow enclave of territory along the Meuse, on the west side of which is situated the fortress of Maestricht. This strip lies between Belgium and Germany, and it was stipulated that the Belgians should use for moderate tolls the roads running across it, else their trade with Germany would be cut off.

In the Scheldt their trade could similarly be blocked by the Dutch, who continued to hold both banks of the river near its mouth. The treaty, therefore, confirmed to the Belgians their old right of fishing in the Scheldt,—which was only fair considering that half the inhabitants of Antwerp were fishermen,—the right of passing their ships in and out of the North Sea in return for a fair contribution to the expenses of lighting and buoying the channel, and lastly, in return for a similar contribution, the right of passing their vessels trading with Germany through the Dutch channels which connect the waters of the Scheldt with those of the Rhine. Holland had already by a treaty, which for a while was kept secret, granted this right to all the states of the German confederation which border on the Rhine, yet her government professed itself to be outraged by such a stipulation when made in favor of Belgium, as if the latter could be properly denied a right already conceded to half the states of Europe.

The Belgians signed the twenty-four articles on November 15, and so the fundamental document assuring their future independence took the form of a treaty of twenty-four articles struck between themselves and the five great powers, which also solemnly guaranteed the new nation neutrality and inviolability.

The Dutch were no more tractable than before. Though numbering but two millions, they were more than ever determined to conquer and exploit nearly twice their number of Belgians. Their parliament continued to vote a war budget as enthusiastically as before. Their king assented to a brief armistice, but would not pledge himself not to resume hostilities on October 25, 1831, when it expired. To meet contingencies the British fleet had to be kept lying in the mouth of the Scheldt, and its presence alone extorted from William the surly admission that he

did not intend to resume the campaign *for the present*. Point by point he continued to fight the plenipotentiaries of the five powers, always hoping for something to turn up, for some general conflagration of Europe in the midst of which he could, unmolested, march his army back into Belgium and set his heel once more on the neck of those whom he persisted in regarding as his revolted subjects. It is to be feared that Russia in secret gave him countenance. She has in turn opposed the emancipation of Belgium, Hungary, and Italy, and nothing but the disasters incurred by her first in the Polish insurrection and subsequently in the Crimean War enabled the foundations of liberty to be laid in these three countries.

On January 30, 1832, the King of Holland, with the usual professions of a desire for peace and conciliation, took the initiative and laid before the conference the draft of a new treaty in which he studiously ignored the rights and even the existence of the new Belgian constitutional monarch, and with no small effrontery proposed that it should be substituted for the treaty of twenty-four articles, already ratified three months before, between that monarch and the great powers. Needless to say, this proposed treaty tied the King of Holland down to nothing, and left him loopholes for reasserting by force and whenever he chose, his claims to Belgium. It was clear that his real objection to the twenty-four articles was that they were definite, free from vagueness, and just, though not wholly just to the Belgian claims. Months slipped by, and by May 10 the treaty of twenty-four articles agreed to by the plenipotentiaries in London, seven months before, had won approval in Berlin and also in St. Petersburg, and the conference, regarding the matter as settled, proceeded to frame such a treaty to be ratified between Holland and Belgium as would at last establish friendly relations between them. Intractable as ever, the Dutch king produced afresh his old proposals, ignoring the Belgian king and quietly ripping up every arrangement so far arrived at.

The conference was long suffering, but the limit of its patience was reached. The time was approaching for coercion, for driving the Dutch by force out of the territory formally recognized no less by themselves than by Europe as Belgium, particularly out of Antwerp where General Chassé still menaced the townsmen from the citadel. The presence of his garrison, as may be imagined, kept everything in suspense, spread abroad among the traders and manufacturers a feeling of insecurity, and effectually impeded the prosperity of the busiest city in Belgium.

The Russian government, even, had grown weary of the unabated pretensions of the Dutch monarch, who in conversation with Count Orloff, its minister at The Hague, now refused to recognize even the

administrative separation and independence of Belgium as defined in the twenty-four articles, unless King Leopold were removed from his newly acquired throne and he himself put in his place. Once king of Belgium, always king of Belgium, was his motto. Leopold was only an interloper and a false pretender. Such sentiments, uttered at the eleventh hour, were too much even for Count Orloff. It was too openly a last extravagant device for evading the duty of signing the treaty of twenty-four articles, to pretend, as did the Dutch king, that he was, after all, the monarch contemplated by that instrument rather than Leopold. The refusal was communicated to the Tsar Nicholas at St. Petersburg and evoked from him the strongest of protests. Count Orloff was charged to remind the Dutch king that, in thus refusing to recognize the political independence of Belgium, he upset the bases already arrived at in the negotiations between himself and the powers. It was absurd, argued Count Orloff, to contend, as the Dutch king did, that the separation of Belgium contemplated in instruments which he had himself signed as early as January, 1831, was to be a merely administrative arrangement and not a political separation. He was reminded that, when the election of Leopold was announced in June, 1831, his government had protested neither against the principle of the election nor against the nomination of Leopold as king, and that he had continued after that election to negotiate with the five powers, and thereby had implicitly sanctioned the step they had taken, that he had accepted it as the basis of the further negotiations. Lastly, this new and exorbitant pretension of William of Nassau, opposed to all the acts of the European congress, was also in contradiction to the language of his own ministers before his States General, was opposed to the wishes expressed with so much warmth and sincerity by the representatives of his nation.

The Tsar had shown so great a tendency to tergiversation that his counsel should have had double weight with King William. The latter, however, remained intractable, and Count Orloff, realizing that all his expostulations were vain and superfluous, resolved to quit The Hague, but before doing so made the following solemn declaration:—

“His imperial Majesty, the Tsar, cannot dissemble the fact, and we say it with profound regret, that the Netherlands cabinet has irretrievably thrown away a last opportunity of terminating the Belgian affair in a manner conformable to its own interests; consequently its allies, in particular Russia, will but waste time in looking for further ways of being useful to it * * * The Tsar has loyally fulfilled towards his Majesty, the King of the Low Countries, the duties of a friendship at once frank and sincere. But he cannot forget the duties imposed on him by the

European alliance. He does not any longer recognize the possibility of henceforth lending his Majesty, King William, either support or encouragement. However perilous the position in which the king has now placed himself, and whatever may be the consequences of his isolation, his imperial Majesty, although with inexpressible regret, will have to silence the inmost feelings of his heart, and consider it right to let Holland bear alone the responsibility of the events which must issue from the situation."

These events were soon realized. In a note addressed to Lord Palmerston on October 24, 1832, the Belgians affirmed their resolve, in case no coercive steps were taken by Great Britain and France, to make their decisions and the treaty of November 15, 1831, respected by Holland, to take the law into their own hands and at whatever risk try to compel the evacuation of the citadel of Antwerp and to expel the enemy from Belgian soil. Their note was not really required, for, only two days before, England and France, dispensing for the moment with the concurrence of the three other powers, agreed to take coercive measures against King William, unless by November 12 he should have withdrawn his troops from Belgian territory. The threat had no effect. He would not budge. Accordingly the two governments from that day forward laid an embargo on all Dutch vessels lying in their ports and ordered their cruisers to seize all Dutch vessels then at sea. Their combined fleets also took up positions in the Dutch estuaries, and blockaded the Dutch ports.

On November 15, the French army for a second time entered Belgium at Mons, under Marshal Gerard and two of Louis Philippe's sons. It was composed of fifty thousand infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a siege train, a larger force than was necessary in order to reduce General Chassé in his citadel at Antwerp, but not too large to meet contingencies which might arise, for King William had raised an army of one hundred thousand men for service in Belgium, and had also mobilized his "landsturm" for internal defence. On November 30, began the siege of Antwerp. General Chassé defended himself heroically until December 23, when he had no drinking water left. He then capitulated, having lost ninety killed, three hundred and forty-nine wounded, two hundred and sixty-seven missing, while the French had lost one hundred and eight killed, and six hundred and eighty-seven wounded. The fortress was handed over to the Belgians. The defenders refused to pledge themselves not to fight against Belgium, if they were released and sent back to Holland, so General Gerard had to march them back into France as prisoners of war.

Holland was thus defeated, but not humbled. Nor would her government and people any more than before recognize the right of Belgians to be free. Fresh negotiations with her in favor of a settlement were as abortive as ever, and Belgium, which sorely needed some respite from the alarms of war in order to consolidate the new order, had to bear for some years more the expence of maintaining a force strong enough to defend her frontiers from her nearest neighbor. Year after year passed by during which her relations with Holland continued to be merely provisional. At last Dutch obstinacy gave way, and nearly ten years after the revolution, in April, 1839, a final treaty of peace was ratified between Belgium and Holland, in which the latter power for the first time recognized the independence of her former subordinates.

II.

PARALLEL BETWEEN THE BELGIAN REVOLUTION AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE UITLANDERS

Thucydides, at once the earliest and the greatest of critical historians, made the profound remark that the value of an accurate inquiry into what has happened in the past lies in this, that it may well afford us, since men remain pretty much the same, a clue to what will happen in the future; and this remark of his led a subsequent historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to utter the pithy saying that history is philosophy teaching by examples.

It would be idle to pretend that contemporary events can really reproduce an episode that is already seventy years old. That is no more possible than that a living individual should be a reincarnation of one that went before him. Nevertheless, there is, as I hope to show, such a resemblance of the Dutch relations to Belgium during the years 1814 to 1832 to the recent Boer régime in the Transvaal, that the history of them has a peculiar interest and applicability today. I have, in a former article, traced out those relations, not so fully as I should desire, yet, I hope, fully and clearly enough for the purpose of comparison with the recent events in Africa. It remains to draw that parallel, and to show, point by point, how closely the Dutch in the Transvaal resemble the Dutch in Belgium between 1814 and 1830. I shall be rewarded if the analogy so traced between the two sets of events should seem to my readers, as it long ago seemed to me, to erect, as it were, fingerposts for their guidance; to supply canons for the correct moral appreciation of our own present policy and of that of the Boers; and lastly, to inspire

the hope of an ultimate solution of our present difficulties satisfactory and appealing to all.

I have given the history in brief of the causes which led up to the Belgian revolution and of its consummation, and I venture to think that it has a singular interest in comparison with the recent crisis in the Transvaal. The elements of the situation in the Transvaal closely resemble those which, in 1830 and the two following years, taxed the ingenuity of British and foreign diplomacy, but unhappily the recent issue has been settled at the expense of lamentable loss of life, because the paramount power was separated by six thousand miles of ocean and several hundred miles of difficult country from the Transvaal, whereas in 1831 and 1832 France and England were close at hand, were ready with an overwhelming show of force, and were able to strike swiftly and decisively.

The resemblances admit of being gathered up under four heads.

1. In both cases we have a small minority of warlike Dutchmen controlling and exploiting twice their number of peaceful and industrial people of another race. This is the political grievance.

2. The material grievances and legal disabilities of the Belgians between the years 1815 and 1830 were identical with those under which the Uitlanders have groaned during the last ten years.

3. The international aspects of the two cases are somewhat similar, and in those respects in which they are similar, invited and invite, justified and justify, interference from without.

4. Lastly, just as Holland had a strong body of sympathizers among ourselves in 1830, so the Transvaal has at this moment, although today the apologists of inequality and misgovernment are not found in the ranks of the same political party as then.

Now let us investigate a little more in detail each of these four heads.

There are no precise data to fix the number of the Boers or Dutch peasant population of the Transvaal, but their own official almanac sets it at seventy-two thousand. The circumstance that in 1893 the rival candidates for the presidency, Kruger and Joubert, received, the one seven thousand, eight hundred and eighty-one votes, the other, seven thousand and nine, that is, fourteen thousand, eight hundred and ninety votes between them, would indicate that the estimate given in the Boer almanac is not very far wrong, and we may assume that the entire adult male population six years ago was not much over sixteen thousand.

On the other hand, the adult male Uitlanders must already in 1895 have exceeded in number forty thousand, since the petition asking for the franchise in 1895 was signed by thirty-eight thousand persons. That would represent an alien population of nearly two hundred thousand.

A year earlier, in 1894, thirty-five thousand, four hundred and eighty-three persons had presented a similar petition. It is unnecessary, however, to labor this point, for the Boer government has never called in question the statistics of their numbers put forward by the spokesmen of the Uitlanders; on the contrary, the arguments for excluding the latter from the franchise and from all participation in the administration and making of laws, have always been based on their numerical preponderance and have started from it as a major premise. I recently asked a friend why he supported the Boers in their attitude of *non possumus* as regards the extension of the franchise, and he answered quite frankly that he objected to it because it meant the destruction of the Boer state.

The Belgians were in a better position than the Uitlanders, in so far as they returned half the members of the States General or Belgo-Batavian parliament which met regularly at The Hague and had a certain control over legislation and over the combined budget. The Boers went to war with us, however, because we demanded through Sir Alfred Milner that the British settlers in the Transvaal, who outnumber the Dutch by three to one, should be allowed to return a modest fourth of the Volksraad.

The Belgians also were allowed to fill the humbler walks of the bureaucracy. But the Uitlanders, at any rate those of English race, have been rigorously excluded from all grades of the administration. By their labor and their capital large and prosperous cities and communities have arisen, where twenty years ago there was a wilderness, but they have not been allowed to establish a police to keep order in their streets, and since the Boers were unable to discharge the task, crime, theft, and all forms of violence have gone unchecked. It is exactly as if the municipality of Glasgow had been committed to the keeping of the crofters of Skye. The Boers could not do the thing themselves, and they would not let the inhabitants do it. An Uitlander had not the privilege of even keeping clean his own doorstep.

The two million Dutchmen of Holland, we have said, not merely controlled the fortunes of three and one half millions of Belgians, but also exploited them. The latter were saddled with half of the old Dutch debt, and being nearly twice as numerous and probably richer, they defrayed nearly twice as much of the budget. It was mainly out of their money that the Dutch built up an army with which they thrashed them so heartily in 1831. In that campaign the Belgians everywhere ran like sheep at the approach of an enemy equipped by themselves. It is on a vaster scale, however, that the eighty thousand Dutchmen of the Transvaal have exploited the Uitlanders. It is measured in our minds as we glance down their official budgets from 1871 until now. In the year

ending July 31, 1872, they raised the revenue of forty thousand, nine hundred and eighty-eight pounds. In 1873 gold was discovered, and in 1880 the income of the state had risen to one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds. In 1886 the Rand was proclaimed a gold-field and English miners were encouraged by the Boer authorities to open mines. The revenue rose at one leap to six hundred and thirty-seven thousand, seven hundred and forty-nine pounds for the nine months, April 1, 1886, to January, 1887. Within two years it touched one million, five hundred and seventy-seven thousand, four hundred and forty-five pounds. In 1895 it approached three million pounds, and for the year ending January 1, 1896, it was a few hundreds under four millions; for the last few years it has been well over that figure. Divide the income of the Boer republic, therefore, by the number of people in it, and we find that there were over fifty pounds a year for every Boer man, woman, and child, and that the whole of this vast annual sum, equal to the income of a first class English colony of a million and a half souls, was wrung out of English, American, and German workers who did not command a single vote in the Raad or Boer parliament. Was there ever a case of the exploitation on so gigantic a scale of a large industrial population by a small but well armed, compact, and vigilant minority?

The Dutch in the years 1814 to 1830 thoroughly understood the art of making the more numerous, but weaker, because industrially engaged, population, pay for the arms and munitions of war by which it was to be coerced in case it should venture to protest against the yoke imposed on it. But the Boers of the Transvaal have far surpassed their European kinsmen in the art. The Uitlanders in 1894 and 1895 began to be restive and to agitate for their rights. In that agitation the great capitalists, for the first time in 1895, began to make common cause with the mass of workmen and small traders. What was the Boer reply, but to build a huge fort overawing Johannesburg, so that they might, when requisite, lay the city in ruins, as General Chassé did with Antwerp. At the same time Pretoria was fortified at the cost of a quarter of a million, heavy Krupp guns were ordered by the score, Maxims were purchased, and the foundations laid of a great military power to destroy which required an English force of one hundred thousand men.

It is of interest to take up Sir Charles Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain" (edition of 1890), and read his account of the Transvaal, which he visited in the year 1889. Here are a few sentences from it:—

"If Transvaal gold mining goes on as it has begun, it is certain that the Dutch speaking population will be in a decided minority in a short space of time. The Transvaal revenues at the present moment come

chiefly from the pockets of the miners, who are in great part English * * * The British miners still have no representation, though it is continually being promised to them * * * At the end of May, 1889, President Kruger introduced * * * a so-called 'Reform Bill,' an obviously delusive measure, which itself was shelved for one year by a reference to a committee. The bill itself is a curiosity of primitive drafting" (p. 540).

"By some it is supposed that the enormous influx of Europeans to the Transvaal gold-fields means a speedy overturning of the Transvaal government and a return to the British connection, still nominally maintained in the suzerainty of the queen; but reports from Johannesburg are to a different effect. The large European population may not be willing to long put up with Boer rule in its present form; the diggers will demand the franchise, and even the use of the Dutch language may after a struggle be abolished in the gold-fields, but feeling is entirely against annexation to Great Britain * * * there is a widespread belief at the gold-fields that the Transvaal must remain a republic, but become an English speaking republic; though the possible addition of the Free State to the South African republic may conceivably for a time secure the predominance of the Dutch race * * * It is a curious fact that the English diggers in the Transvaal, most of whom are conservatives in England,—from those who have belonged to the Junior Carlton or the Constitutional Club to those who have sung 'Rule Britannia' at peaceful meetings,—should become republican in the Transvaal; and the possible growth of a vigorous English speaking republic on the stump of a Boer community is worthy of being watched with care" (pp. 540, 541).

Then, after dwelling on the scandals of President Kruger's administration, he makes this remark:—

"It seems certain that President Kruger will have, in a few years' time, to choose between revolution and a real reform which will lead to his own effacement" (p. 545).

There is no doubt that if President Kruger and the majority of the Boers had been able either to learn or to forget, if they had followed the simple receipt which makes men loyal everywhere, of admitting them to citizenship, to the franchise, even to the elementary right of policing themselves, and of managing their own schools and municipal affairs,—then the English settlers in the Transvaal would have become and would still be ardent supporters of the South African republic, and Kruger would have been loved and respected. The Boers had a golden opportunity and wantonly threw it away. They preferred to remain the stump of a republic, and would brook no grafting. So it has come about that their stump, incapable of bearing any sound political fruit, has been hewn

down and cast into the fire. In their short-lived union with the Belgians the Dutch minority displayed the same oligarchical spirit, and if they escaped the same fate as the Boers have deliberately brought upon themselves, it was because a geographical line of separation could be effectively drawn between them and the victims of their oppression.

Sir Charles Dilke was prophetic. Just six years after he wrote the passages I have cited,—wrote them, I may remind you, from experience gathered on the spot,—the feeling that something must be done to remedy their position reached a climax among the diggers and they sent an enormous petition to the Boer parliament, signed by nearly forty thousand persons. Speaking of this petition, Mr. Jeppe, one of the two or three progressive Boers in the Volksraad, used the following language in the first Raad when it was presented, on August 16, 1895:—

“This petition has been signed by practically the entire population of the Rand. There are not three hundred people of any standing whose names do not appear there. It contains the name of the millionaire capitalist on the same page as that of the carrier or miner * * * It embraces all nationalities: the German merchant, the doctor from Cape Town, the English director, the teacher from the Parol,—they all have signed it. So have,—and that is significant,—old burghers from the Free State, whose fathers with yours reclaimed this country; and it bears, too, the signatures of some who have been born in this country, who know no other fatherland than this Republic, but whom the law regards as strangers. Then, too, there are the newcomers; they have built Johannesburg, one of the wonders of the age, now valued at many millions sterling, and which in a few short years will contain from one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand souls; they own half the soil; they pay at least three quarters of the taxes. Nor are they persons who belong to a subservient race. They come from countries where they freely exercised political rights which can never be long denied to free-born men. They are, in short, men who in capital, energy, and education, are at least our equals. All these persons are gathered together, thanks to our law, into one camp.”

Here I may remark that at first the great capitalists of the Rand were disliked and distrusted by the great mass of Uitlanders for their dread of an agitation which might lower dividends. The invincible, intractable injustice of the Boer oligarchy welded them together with and led them to head the popular agitation as early as 1895. In the same way in Belgium the hopeless stupidity of King William and his Dutch oligarchy led to a fusion of liberals and Catholics who would otherwise have remained apart.

"Through our own act," continued Mr. Jeppe, "this multitude, which contains elements which even the most suspicious amongst us would not hesitate to trust, is compelled to stand together, and so to stand in this most fatal of all questions in antagonism to us. Is that fact alone not sufficient to warn us and to prove how unstatesmanlike our policy is? What will we do with them now? Shall we convert them into friends, or shall we send them away empty, dissatisfied, embittered? What will our answer be? Dare we refer them to the present law, which first expects them to wait for fourteen years and even then pledges itself to nothing, but leaves everything to a Volksraad which cannot decide until 1905? It is a law which denies all political rights even to their children born in this country."

The arguments with which the great majority of Boers in that debate opposed the enfranchisement of the daily increasing Uitlanders were such as to fill men of insight with despair. Mr. Jan de Beer declared "that he did not object to giving the burgher right to *persons who shot Kaffirs*," and that the Uitlanders failed to do. Mr. Otto said that "he did not consider the Johannesburg people, who had signed in that wonderful and fat book on the table, to be law abiding, and he would have none of them." "The Raad," he added, "had frequently heard that, if the franchise were not extended, there would be trouble." He was tired of these constant threats. He would say, "Come on and fight! Come on!" And in spite of a call to order from the chairman, he went on thus, "I say, 'Come on and have it out, and the sooner the better.' I cannot help it, Mr. Chairman, I must speak out. I say I am prepared to fight them, and I think every burgher of the South African Republic is with me." Such is the temper in which the average Boer politician approached problems of the gravest import for his republic. A few months later, on December 26, when the National Union of Uitlanders presented a fresh appeal for justice and for their bare rights to President Kruger, the latter's reply was the following: "Their rights. Yes, they'll get them,—over my dead body!"

It is not surprising that an abortive rising soon afterwards took place, assisted by sympathizers from Rhodesia. I do not justify the Raid. It was, in the first place, beneath the dignity of English administrators to imitate the tactics of the Boers who had shortly before raided and been expelled by Sir Charles Warren from the very territory which Jameson made his base. In the next place it was hitting below the belt and it was imbecile. It strengthened the Boer's suspicion of Englishmen and intensified the contempt he already felt and was not loath to show for our settlers. The recent war might have been avoidable without it.

With it conflict was inevitable, unless the Boer was able to read the signs of the times, which he emphatically was not. If we look in the history of the Belgian revolution for an event analogous to the Raid, we have it in the outbreak of mob violence in Brussels on August 25, 1830. That outbreak was hardly less lamentable in its way than the Raid, like which it imperilled the cause of freedom and made it difficult for sober and serious people of the time to uphold the cause of Belgium. Yet we must look to causes as well as to effects, and condemn both impartially. If the Raid was outrageous, so was the high handed and obstinate injustice which provoked it. An enlightened English liberal, writing on the affairs of Belgium and Holland in the "Edinburgh Review," for 1833, pronounced on those fearful scenes which in 1830 disgraced Brussels, a judgment which will, I think, be the judgment of future historians on the Raid:—

"Outrages occurred," so he writes, "such as the march of revolution too often exhibits; and the struggle for liberty wore that loathsome aspect, under which the advocates of despotism love to exhibit it, like a drunken Helot as a warning to the world. It is, indeed, a sight which the rational lover of freedom views with far more disgust and pain than does the admirer of despotic government. Such a crisis reverses the just position of the parties; it places the oppressors in the favorable light of maintainers of order; while the oppressed become violators of the dearest principles that bind together the welfare of a community. But let it be borne in mind that the atrocities of a revolution are available in argument only against the *manner* of the change effected, and not against its necessity. On the contrary, they are frequently among the proofs of that necessity. They show the deep sense of wrong under which the insurgents have been writhing; and they also show the depth of their degradation. * * * Let violence lie at the door of those who have degraded a people,—who have resisted legal, timely, moderate change, and left open no other avenue to redress but force."

I have pointed out under a second head how similar were the wrongs of the Uitlanders to those of the Belgians. If the latter had the Dutch language, which they could not understand, thrust on them in their law courts and legal documents, so have the Uitlanders. This is how Sir Charles Dilke wrote of the situation in 1888:—

"It is most irksome to the diggers that, in great centres of commercial activity, the official forms for all the business connected with the posts and telegraphs should be in a tongue which nine tenths of those transacting business cannot understand * * * the inconvenience caused by the proceedings of the law courts and of auction sales taking place in

Dutch is great * * * It sometimes happens in the mining districts that the magistrate is well able to speak English, that to the counsel on both sides Dutch is a foreign language, and that the plaintiff and defendant are both English, and the witness, as well as the whole or the majority of the jury, English; and yet every word spoken in English has to be interpreted into Dutch for the supposed benefit of a judge and jury who in fact would come to a speedier and clearer understanding of the case without resort to this process."

This was written sixteen years ago, when the English speaking settlers barely, if at all, outnumbered the Boers. During the last few years they outnumber them by three to one. How much the more must such a disability rankle in their minds! And we must not forget that in the public schools, maintained by the taxation of the Uitlanders, the teaching must be in Dutch, and Dutch also was the only language allowed in the Volksraad, and in all communications from or to state officials. Nor was the Dutch so used the literary language of Holland. On one occasion a member of the Volksraad, Mr. Taljaard, opposed a bill permitting the treatment of gold-tailings, because it contained the words *pyrites*, *concentrates*, *quartz*, and insisted that they must be translated into a Dutch intelligible to himself. As Sir Charles Dilke remarks (p. 545):—

"The Transvaal inhabitants that are to come will probably regret but little the loss of a dialect which has neither a syntax nor a literature."

In Holland it is the aim of savants to write in German or English, in order that their learning may benefit a wider circle. In Africa a barbarous and obscure dialect was thrust by legal enactments upon the vast majority of inhabitants, because as President Kruger acknowledged in a debate on the question in September, 1894, "The Dutch language could not be maintained against English in competition."

Another Belgian grievance was the removability of the judges at will by the executive. Until 1897, there were, indeed, left certain constitutional safeguards of the independence of the Transvaal bench, but in that year they were swept away, when President Kruger passed a law the effect of which was to subordinate the sentences of the high court to revision by the Raad. "The judges protested in a body," says Mr. Fitzpatrick ("The Transvaal from Within," p. 296), "that they would not submit to such treatment. The high court was adjourned and all legal business was stopped." The executive then proceeded illegally and arbitrarily to dismiss Judges Kotzé and Ameshof, who had honorably and for years occupied the bench. The dispute arose from the high court having protected an Uitlander against an act of piracy which certain politicians had an interest in committing. After that, neither

Uitlander nor Boer had any confidence in the high court which could be packed at will with the creatures of President Kruger.

Another grievance of the Belgians was the withholding by King William of the right of trial by jury. Practically it did not exist for settlers in the Transvaal. For no one could sit on a jury there who was not either a born or a naturalized burgher. Chinese walls were erected one after the other, and each one higher than the preceding, to prevent Englishmen from obtaining burgher rights. Consequently they were tried before juries composed wholly of Dutchmen, whose passions could readily be inflamed against them. If their offences could be construed as political, they had no chance of justice.

Lastly, just as the Dutch system in Belgium was not complete without a severe press law and restrictions on the right of public meeting, so in the Transvaal, where the police could break up any public meeting in which more than seven persons collected to discuss their affairs; and this extreme law, worthy of Russia or Turkey, was enforced more than once with Draconian severity.

Such were some, but by no means all, of the grievances which approximated the cause of nearly a quarter of a million settlers in the Transvaal, to that of the Belgians seventy years ago. But there were other grievances which galled our countrymen, but from which the Belgians were exempt. They had not to complain of corruption on the part of King William's government. It is true that they paid two shares to one for officials mainly Dutch, but the salaries of those officials did not each year rise by leaps and bounds exclusively at their expense. Contrast the Transvaal. In 1886 the officials were content with fifty-one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-one pounds. In 1888 they required one hundred and sixty-four thousand, four hundred and sixty-six pounds. In 1889, the year to which Sir Charles Dilke's descriptions apply, they took a quarter of a million. In 1896 they had eight hundred and thirteen thousand pounds. In 1898 over a million. In 1899 the budget modestly anticipated a million and a quarter for their requirements. One million and a quarter represents forty pounds for each male Boer, young or old. English civil servants paid on the same scale would absorb eight hundred millions sterling per annum.

To crown such scandals as the above, came the monopolies of dynamite, iron work, railways, drink, even of jam. The first of these was so arranged as to make miners pay in one year six hundred thousand pounds a year more than better dynamite could be supplied for. The drink monopoly was engineered so as to keep one third of the native workmen employed in the mines permanently drunk; at the same time

the restrictive laws passed for show by the Raad were carefully not enforced by the police. Nearly half a million of secret funds was supplied to Dr. Leyds, with which to purchase the press and news agencies of the continent and inflame foreigners with hatred and detestation of the British government. Lastly, colossal sums were spent from 1895 onwards, upon armaments, with which to resist the Uitlanders and the English government, if it should ever venture to exercise the right, which all governments possess under international law, of protecting its own subjects in another state.

This brings me to my third point, that the international aspects of the Belgo-Batavian dispute in 1830 were not wholly dissimilar to those of the recent crisis, and that the condition of the Uitlanders as much invited and justified outside interference as did that of the Belgians. It was an act of the diplomats of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia which constituted in the years 1814 and 1815, by the treaties of Paris and Vienna, the hybrid kingdom of the Low Countries under the rule of William of Nassau. And this monarch took his stand on these instruments, when, in the autumn of 1830, he applied to the plenipotentiaries of the five powers to assist him in reëstablishing his authority over his revolted Belgian subjects. The powers, in the end and on the whole, came to the conclusion that he had been a bad steward of the charge committed to him, and they concluded within a year a new treaty with the Belgian government, recognizing and guaranteeing its independence and engaging to protect its neutrality as against Holland.

The Transvaal state was equally created by the conventions of 1881 and 1884, which were of the nature of a treaty between itself and England. The latter power, however, retained a supreme control over all its foreign relations, thereby implicitly guaranteeing its inviolability by other states, and we faithfully kept this guarantee although the Transvaal steadily tried to elude the restrictions set upon its relations with foreign powers. These restrictions in effect made it a vassal state in the same way as is a protected native state in India. Now the European powers justified their intervention in Belgium and Holland on the ground that the local quarrel was a danger to the peace of Europe. France and England did not scruple on this ground alone to undertake grave military operations against Holland for two years in succession. On the same ground intervention was called for, but not resorted to by us, in the Transvaal. It was an enclave within British territory. The oppression of the Uitlanders, their discontent, the open sore of Boer government, attended as it was by gigantic imports of arms and ammunition, which could only be for use against English subjects,—all this constituted a

perpetual menace to the peace and progress of our South African dominions. If the five powers had the right to intervene and attack the Dutch in 1831 and 1832 by land and sea in order to compel them to come to terms with the Belgians, how much more had England long ago the right to intervene in behalf of Englishmen in the Transvaal. No other European power would have been so long suffering as we have been.

Sir Charles Dilke in 1889, fifteen years ago, wrote as follows of the Boer designs in South Africa: "It is supposed by many that President Kruger hopes to scoop out South Africa and founding a vast Dutch republic in the whole of its inland territories, to leave us only the seacoast rind, after the manner in which the Arabs have lately been scooping out northern and central Africa. Some think that President Kruger intends shortly not only to conquer Swaziland from the natives, but also to take Bechuanaland from us and Delagoa Bay from Portugal. But to my mind there are vast exaggerations in this talk" (p. 543); and he recurs to the topic on p. 547: "While President Paul Kruger may secretly look forward to, or may hope for, or dream of, a vast Dutch African republic excluding English influence, Mr. Hofmeyr knows better."

Whether President Kruger himself had really formed this design as early as 1889 we do not know, and he is not the man to show his hand prematurely. But Sir Charles Dilke's pages witness that the scheme was already entertained by leading Boers. The influx of English diggers and of English capital both stood in the way of its realization and made it feasible. It provided a revenue of millions a year with which to buy guns and rifles not only for the Transvaal, but for the Free State Boers, and also for such of the Cape Dutch as would join in. At the same time the presence of nearly two hundred thousand English settlers on the Rand was a menace, and they had to be firmly repressed and excluded forever from citizenship, if the scheme was to succeed. The ultimatum delivered to the British government threw off the mask and avowed the scheme, proving how hypocritical were President Kruger's negotiations with us about the extension of the franchise. He and Dr. Leyds probably began to seriously entertain the scheme about 1893, and it was the knowledge of their designs which prompted Jameson's silly raid in January, 1896.

Lord Loch has lately revealed the fact that long before the Raid occurred, President Kruger made no secret of his wish to cast off the minimum of control over his relations with foreign states imposed by the conventions of 1881 and 1884. He also frankly declared to the same authority his intention sooner or later to have a fleet! At the time when he revealed such pretensions to Lord Loch he must have formed the

design of turning South Africa into a Dutch republic, in which the English settlers were to supply the money for armaments and at the same time be kept in permanent political nonage and subjection. Had the scheme succeeded, the English loyalists in the Cape Colony and in Natal would have been disfranchised in due time as the Uitlanders have been, and given the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water to a Dutch oligarchy armed to the teeth at their expense.

But if it is uncertain when President Kruger first entertained the scheme of ejecting the English from South Africa, there can be no doubt that his chief coadjutor, President Reitz of the Orange Free State, entertained it seventeen years ago as the end and aim of the Africander Bond. In a late number of the "Cape Times," Mr. Theodore Schreiner, father of the premier of the Cape Colony, attests that Mr. Reitz, then a judge of the Free State, initiated him into the secret seventeen or eighteen years ago, and besought him to join the league. At that time all parties in England had loyally united in assuring to the Boers the country beyond the Vaal, and gave them peace instead of war. "You do not suppose," said Mr. Schreiner to Judge Reitz, after the latter had avowed the ultimate object of his Bond, "that the English flag would disappear from South Africa without a terrible conflict?" And Reitz answered with a smile, "No doubt, but what of that?" The loyal English colonists at the Cape at that time, as now, nearly balanced the Dutch, so it appears that Reitz already contemplated with equanimity the recent terrible war, for which the responsibility rests no less upon him than upon President Kruger. It was already contemplated seventeen years ago as the cost of expelling the English influence from South Africa and of reducing such Englishmen as should remain to political subjection and inferiority.

William of Nassau was for a while secretly encouraged in his contumacious resistance to the will of Europe by the Tsar himself, who felt his own autocracy in Russia to be bound up with the cause of despotism elsewhere. It appears that President Kruger in his turn was rendered the more intractable in the early stages of his conflict with the Uitlanders by the hope of German intervention in his favor. If so, he was bitterly undeceived, as was William of Nassau in 1832. The Germans soon discovered not only that they had no chance of acquiring the Transvaal for themselves, but that, in a South Africa united under a Boer hegemony and ruled according to Boer methods, there would not for long be left room for a German Southwest Africa.

The unnatural union in 1814 between Belgium and Holland was an element in the European structure then contrived by Lord Castlereagh

and the other ministers of the Holy Alliance, and its destruction was by no means universally popular in England. The Dutch oligarchy found an eager and able champion, for example, in Lord Aberdeen, who, nevertheless, had signed the first three protocols of London dated November 4 and 17, 1830, in which the separation and independence of Belgium was virtually recognized by the five plenipotentiaries. But he soon repented of having signed, and as soon as the Whigs came into power and he found himself in opposition, he became the *patronas* in this country of the Dutch oligarchy and even its adviser. The Dutch government actually submitted to him beforehand important documents intended to be communicated to the conference, and in his speech before the House of Lords on January 26, 1832, paragraph after paragraph was translated from the very special pleadings of the Dutch representatives before the congress. If I reproduce some paragraphs from this speech it is because Lord Aberdeen's eulogy of the sturdy resistance offered by the Dutch oligarchy so exactly anticipated the sentiments to which the partisans of a complete and selfish Boer oligarchy have given free expression in almost every continental journal and in not a few of our own English journals.

In the speech from the throne, Lord Grey had made King William IV. of England say that "he trusted the period was not far distant when the King of the Netherlands would see the necessity of acceding to the arrangement made by the five powers." Lord Aberdeen then replied that "he doubted that such would be the case, and that he would be much surprised if a sovereign so circumstanced could assent to such an arrangement, not only because that which was proposed was unjust and detrimental to his interest, but in truth, even if he were inclined to agree, it would be impossible for him to act in such opposition to the unanimous feelings of his people. The noble Earl (Lord Grey) opposite thought otherwise. He is now better informed. He has now seen what the united efforts of a loyal and patriotic people are capable of performing. He has found that enthusiasm, energy, and zeal, are not always the characteristics of a revolutionary party. He has seen a constitutional king supported by a free people, and I think it impossible that he should have seen it, without being inspired with respect and admiration."

Lord Aberdeen in the above was commenting on the Dutch invasion of Belgium in August, 1831, when the Belgian army was as powerless as a flock of sheep running away from a pack of dogs. Except that the British troops in Natal did not run away, the Boer invasion of that colony is comparable to the Dutch incursion of 1831. It, too, shows us "what the united efforts of a loyal and patriotic people are capable of performing" and displays "the enthusiasm, energy, and zeal" of the

Boers. Nevertheless, history condemns the action of the Dutch in 1831, and their own writers accept its verdict. History will similarly condemn the sudden interruption by arms of peaceful negotiations of which the Boers have been guilty, as the Dutch were then.

Lord Aberdeen continued: "I think, my Lords, that the spectacle presented by the conduct of the Dutch government, supported as it has been by the people of Holland, demands the highest applause. Their king has conducted himself with a degree of resolution, of prudence, and of consistency, above all praise; and, if it please Almighty God, I trust his merits will meet with due success. In truth, the cause of Holland is so just a cause, so good a cause, that it must prosper; and when I say the cause of Holland, I entreat your Lordships to believe that I mean the cause of England too, for I consider them inseparable and identical." "I regret," he added after a little, "to see the Emperor of Russia the protector of Holland. I regret to see him occupy the place which I had hoped belonged to England."

Truly the mantle of Lord Aberdeen, the friend of Lord Castlereagh, has fallen upon Mr. Stead.

It is, of course, unfortunate that the necessity in which we have been placed of defending ourselves from Boer aggression, has roused a bitter feeling against us in Holland, but it was not otherwise in 1830-33. "The noble Earl," said Lord Aberdeen, alluding to the Whig premier, Lord Grey, "has excited in Holland a feeling of the most bitter hatred towards this country,—the very name of England is abhorred and execrated by the Dutch. The Dutch know, and the French take good care they should know it, that it is to the noble Earl and his colleagues that they are indebted for everything unjust, oppressive, and ungenerous. * * * Such an inveterate feeling exists in Holland against the people of this country as has had no precedent in the history of civilized warfare."

How like today! Everything the same except that then we were standing for justice to Belgium, as recently we have stood for justice to our own flesh and blood. These utterances of Lord Aberdeen's in 1832 not only point a moral, but are fraught with consolation for us. Holland, in spite of its French mentors, soon forgot their "bitter hatred" of us, and they will do so again. History has more than justified the policy pursued by a Whig government in 1831-33, and it will equally justify the line pursued by our Tory government in 1899. I only trust that we shall not in the future be deterred from pursuing a generous policy towards the humbler nationalities of Europe, by the tone of the Belgian press towards ourselves in the recent crisis. We have more than once saved the Boers from extinction by the Zulus. They feel no gratitude

for that. We saved the Belgians from their Dutch oppressors, and yet their sympathy was with the Boer oppressor.

And in those years 1830-33 exactly the same charges of cowardice, disloyalty, and factious folly were made by high and dry Tories against the Belgians, as were made by a certain section of "soi disant" liberals against the Uitlanders. "In reality," said Lord Aberdeen, "the Belgians had no sufficient motive for revolting." "History," he declared, "furnishes no example of a revolt more senseless or less necessary than that to which Belgium has committed herself." "The Annual Register" of those years, which was compiled by and for enemies of the great English reform bill of 1832, has many a gibe at the "brave Belgians," who, after "daring Holland to encounter their patriotic valor in defence of liberty, fled almost without firing a shot."¹ And of the Dutch invasion of 1831, the following: "Nine days had dissolved all the dreams and struck down all the vauntings of his (Prince Leopold) boasting subjects, and had proved to Europe that, if Belgium and Holland had only been allowed to settle their own affairs, the latter would have been found a much more decisive negotiator than the Conference of London." With equal brutality some of our politicians complained that England did not leave the unarmed "gold-bug" and his Boer oppressor to fight it out together. "The Annual Register" charged the plenipotentiaries of seventy years ago with a "breach of faith towards Holland, which alone, throughout the whole truckling affair, had acted with any degree of spirit, of honesty, and of fair, plain dealing."²

Elsewhere in the same volume (p. 389) we are assured that "vanity, ignorance, violence, and extravagance were triumphant" in the national congress which elected Prince Leopold. We hear of "the phrenzies of these mad republicans" (p. 388). We read that "it was clear to all the world, that the injustice and obstinacy of Belgium rested in no small measure on the belief that France would at last support them in all their demands" (p. 390). And France did so, with the same unselfishness and loyalty to the cause of true freedom with which England supported the cause of the Uitlanders, fighting not their battle alone, but the battle of every future settler in a territory as large as France and as rich. It is deplorable that so many "soi disant" English liberals were found to repeat of the Uitlanders and their entirely just cause the cheap abuse which only the most reactionary Tories lavished on the Belgians three generations ago. They were even reproached because they were attracted

(1) *A. R.*, 1831, p. 406.

(2) *A. R.*, 1831, p. 412.

to the Transvaal by its mineral wealth, as if America would ever have been discovered or our Australian colonies founded, without the dreams of an El Dorado to draw the adventurous forth. The vast majority of Uitlanders are honest artisans and traders, whose detractors, were they logical enough to practice what they preach, would begin by demonetizing gold and reintroducing the barter of the most ancient ages.

There are not too many little states in the world, and we can ill spare a single one of them, for the civilization of our planet is likely to become more monotonous in proportion as they are eliminated and absorbed by mighty neighbors. We must, therefore, regret the disappearance,—if disappear they must,—of these two little Dutch states in South Africa. Let us give to the Boer all the credit he deserves. He is courageous, resourceful to cunningness, patriotic, and ready to lay down his life where he believes that the freedom and independence of his little community is at stake. What we must deplore is the narrowness of his patriotism, his oligarchical and domineering instincts. I suspect, too, that he was badly led and grossly misinformed by his advisers, especially by those corrupt bureaucrats of his own race, who, with Dr. Leyds at their head, have gone out from Holland. These men at any rate ought to have known, even from the experience of their own country, that it is impossible at the end of the nineteenth century for a small group of warlike burghers to ride rough shod over an industrial population three or four times as numerous as themselves, to impose on it their language, to deprive it of citizenship, to oblige it to pay all the taxes and yet deny to it all participation in the government, to refuse to it any part in the administration of justice, to try to gag its press, to refuse to it the rights of free meeting and discussion, to exploit it, to arm themselves to the teeth out of money wrung from it, to deny haughtily to ourselves who form a great contiguous and overlapping empire even the right to complain of the oppressions under which our kinsmen groaned.

The ideal of a state which, under the sinister counsels of Dr. Leyds and President Kruger, the Transvaal Boers have since 1884 set themselves to realize, is of an ancient type, and corresponds to that Lacedemon of old which Grote describes as a "close, unscrupulous, and well-obeyed oligarchy." There you had the small number of fully qualified citizens, who were alone eligible to honors or public offices, addicted to the use of arms, and trusting largely to slave or Helot labor for the cultivation of their land, even as the Boers trust to the Kaffirs who are to all intents and purposes their serfs. Between these highest and lowest strata of the community you had in Lacedemon an intermediate group, the Periseki answering closely to the Transvaal Uitlanders. They had no political

rights and took their orders and laws from the assembly of full citizens, yet they were not exactly serfs. If the Boer state, being what it is, were a survival, it might claim our sympathy, as it certainly would our interest. But it is the newest of new things. In May, 1881, the queen's commissioners were negotiating with the representatives of the Boers the Pretoria convention of that year. The queen's high commissioner who presided over the conference asked the Transvaal delegates whether British subjects resident among the Boers would enjoy and would continue to enjoy *equal privileges with the burghers*. The final answer to the question, as given by Mr. Kruger and Dr. Jorissen, amounted to this: "We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned, only according to our law, a newcomer does not get his burgher rights immediately. According to our old 'Grondwet' one has to reside a year in the country."

I have quoted the above exactly as it is given in a pamphlet that was widely circulated in England and elsewhere, called "*Transvaal versus Great Britain*." It was written by Dr. W. Van der Vlugt, a professor in the Leyden University. One would expect from so distinguished a writer some words of regret that an assurance, on the strength of which the British commissioner signed the 1881 convention, was so badly kept by the Boers. Not at all. He proceeds to admit with all frankness Mr. Milner's statement that "all the restrictions as to franchise, under which the Uitlanders suffer, were brought into existence subsequently to the conventions of Pretoria and London," and he then proceeds to pen (p. 34) the following amazing defence of Boer bad faith in this vitally important matter:—

"'Subsequently,' indeed, and not without good reason. For only two years after the latter of the two said conventions was concluded, an event took place which changed the face of Transvaal affairs to an extent no mortal eye could have foreseen three years before. We refer, of course, to the discovery of the gold treasures of the Rand. Now, first, it is simply unfair to urge upon any one the exact fulfillment of a pledge after a total change of the situation. 'Even,' so runs the argument of one of your most distinguished authorities in ethical philosophy, 'even if a promise has been made quite freely and fairly, circumstances may alter so much before the time comes to fulfill it, that the effects of keeping it may be quite other than those which were foreseen when it was made. *In such a case probably all would agree that the promisee ought to release the promiser.*'"

What does this argument amount to? In 1881 there were not more than a thousand Englishmen in the Transvaal, and the Boer commission-

ers pledged their word that they and all future settlers would be admitted to citizenship after one year's probation. It was their immemorial custom, they said, and part of their constitution so to admit them, just as it is the custom of all the British colonies and of most civilized states to admit alien settlers, especially those engaged in trade and industry, to citizenship after a short term of residence and probation. Within about ten years there are found some ten thousand adult male settlers in the Transvaal, and the burgher franchise is at once hedged round with restrictions which practically deprive them not only of the political franchise but even of the rights of municipal self-government. And yet these settlers have by their industry created nine tenths of the wealth of the Transvaal. Professor Van der Vlugt describes these settlers as "a lower social layer," as "a cosmopolitan medley that crowds the town of Johannesburg, preying upon the gold-fields," as if apart from their energy and toil there would ever have been any gold-fields or any Johannesburg at all. He does not tell us the name of the English (?) moralist who pretends that a promise ceases to be binding as soon as the person who made it finds it inconvenient to keep it. I should imagine it to be the sentiment of one of those Jesuit casuists against whose corrupting influence Pascal so nobly protested. But it is a double edged argument for a partisan of Boer exclusiveness and misgovernment to use. There is a good old argument that wealth properly belongs to those who have created it. If so, the gold industry, the railways, and the cities of the Transvaal, the four millions sterling of state revenue along with much else, will belong in all equity to the Uitlanders who have produced it all, and not to the Boers. The latter are like slave-holding ants, or like rack renting absentee Irish landlords, who sweated their toiling and moiling tenants, and deprived them of the wealth they produced as fast as they produced it. To confiscate the gold-fields for the workers who have made them, and to let the industrious reap the fruits of their industry, would, if we accept Professor Van der Vlugt's argument, be fair and just. But England has not availed herself of this argument; has not connived at nor permitted its use by others; has, instead, sternly condemned the attempt of some of her headstrong and irresponsible colonists to assist by arms the settlers on the Rand. She has faithfully kept the promise made to the Boers in 1881, and confirmed in 1884, although had our statesmen foreseen the future they would have made its terms much narrower. If, as Professor Van der Vlugt contends "circumstances may really alter" so much that "the promisee ought to release the promiser," then England long ago had the right to step in and enforce the Uitlanders' right to possess and control a territory which was a wilderness

until they came and turned it into the great industrial centre of the dark continent.

Happily England has clean hands in this matter, and at no time has she thought of annexing the Transvaal for covetous reasons. If ten years ago and more, President Kruger and his advisers had had any political tact and foresight, they would now have a loyal Uitlander population, friendly, no doubt, to England, and desirous of remaining safe under her ægis from interference on the part of Germany, France, or Russia, yet none the less determined to be and remain independent, working out their salvation for themselves. This was the ideal for the future of the Transvaal which all Englishmen entertained after they unanimously restored the country to the Boers in 1881. The ideal is now shattered, but only through the obstinacy and aggressiveness of the Boer oligarchy. If the English settlers who, within the next ten years, will pour into the Transvaal, not as hitherto by tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands, resolve to give to their adopted country the status of one of the loyal English colonies, it will be the fault of the Boers and of no one else.

THE EPIC OF IRELAND

PAUL ELMER MORE

NEW YORK

IN HIS preface to Lady Gregory's "Cuchulain of Muirthemne" Mr. Yeats, her good friend, calls it "the best book that has ever come out of Ireland; for," as he says, "the stories it tells are a chief part of Ireland's gift to the imagination of the world." Mr. Yeats is one of the known prophets of the Gaelic resurrection, and his eulogy may be suspected of the customary Gaelic patriotism; yet to one who comes to Lady Gregory's work from the outside as a lover of beautiful words wherever he may find them, and who brings with him only sufficient sympathy with things Irish to understand their spirit, he trusts, without suffering a perversion of judgment, this praise will sound, not too enthusiastic, but too narrow. He would prefer to hear simply that the "Cuchulain" is one of the great books of the world,—a greater book than many are likely to comprehend until its themes have been caught up and adopted into the body of English literature. I know well enough that the public of the present day is prone to accept the ephemeral clever books and to ignore the true books, and yet I have been surprised to see how little the press in America has had to say of these stories, and how little, comparatively, they have been read,—I say "in America," for I believe that in England they have excited rather more comment. Even

(1) It is an unfortunate drawback to the enjoyment of old Irish literature that the spelling of the proper names gives but the slightest inkling to their pronunciation. The pronunciation commonly adopted is a middle form between the oldest variety, no doubt indicated by the ancient spelling, and the modern variety which, for many of the names, is wanting altogether. Thus the name of the king is spelled Conchubar and was probably pronounced, originally, something like Kón-chovar. The middle form employed in reading the romances is Kón-a-chur, while the modern form is Conor. I give a table of the pronunciation of the names occurring in this article, premising that the vowels have the Italian sound: a as in father, e as in great, i as in machine, o as in note or not, u as in rule or full; ch is almost like k.

Cuchulain of Muirthemne (Ku-chú-lin of Mŭr-hév-na)

Tain Bo Cuailgne (táun bo húln-ya)

Ailell (ál-yel)

Naoise (ní-sha)

Maeve (mēv)

Emer (ēm-ir)

Ferdiad (fer-dí-a)

Scathach (ska-ha)

Conchubar (Kón-a-chur)

Findabair (fínn-a-var)

Usnach (us-na)

Gae Bulg (gé-bulg)

Deirdre (dér-dra)

Cruachan (krú-a-chan)

Cathbad (káf-fa)

Levarcham (lá-var-cham)

Sidhe (shí).

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if the prosaic Saxon is absorbed in reading the latest novel and the latest treatise on economics, one might suppose that every educated wanderer from Erin would be quick to welcome these superb legends of his old home, but there is no sign that such is the case. I fear it is even necessary to explain somewhat explicitly who this forgotten Cuchulain was, "this name to be put in songs," and what these epic tales of Ireland are.

Though the language Lady Gregory employs is the quaint vernacular English of modern Ireland, the substance of her book goes back to the heroic days of the land,—to the seventh and eighth centuries of our era when Ireland, partly on account of her isolation from the tumultuous changes of the continent, blossomed out, just before the terrible coming of the Norsemen, into a civilization of rare and passionate beauty. This island of the far western seas was in those years the sacred repository of the learning saved from the classic past, and boasted to be the teacher of Europe. But besides this borrowed culture of Rome, she possessed a native art of a most peculiar sort. It was a trait of the Celtic people, and perhaps to a special degree of that Gaelic branch of the race which inhabited Ireland, to honor the poet as the world has hardly elsewhere seen him honored. The bards and fillas (or higher poets) formed regular schools with an ollav (or chief poet) at their head. Their education lasted from seven to twelve years or even longer, and when complete included the knowledge of more than three hundred and fifty different metres. As for poetical substance, the ollav was supposed to have at his command more than two hundred and fifty prime stories for recitation and one hundred secondary ones. So numerous were these bardic reciters that Keating, the historian of the seventeenth century, reckoned their number at one third of the men of the free clans, and so formidable was their power that their satire was said to blast its victim and raise blisters on his face.

Out of this enormous activity two principal cycles of song and romance shaped themselves in the heroic age of Ireland, deriving their substance in large part from the annals of the great families, but including, also, confused memories of an ancient mythology. One of these, the cycle of Finn and Ossian and Oscar, was long ago vulgarized by the travesties of James Macpherson; the other, the Cuchulain saga of Ulster, though almost forgotten until recent years, is far the more important, both for the sweetness and nobility of the actual stories and for their capability of large development. The pivot of the whole series, so to speak, is the famous "Tain Bo Cuailgne" or "Cattle Raid of Coolney," which relates how Ailell and Maeve, king and queen of Connaught,

made a great hosting and drove back with them a magic brown bull of Ulster. That would seem to lend itself to a border ballad rather than to the formation of a true epic; and, indeed, it must not be supposed that this saga of Ireland possesses the stately grandeur we connect with the narratives of Greece; there was not sufficient self-control in the Gaelic genius for any such regular evolution. Nevertheless, the deeds of Cuchulain, who, single-handed, opposed the men of Connaught, and above all engaged in tremendous battle with his friend Ferdiad, rise clear out of the regions of mere balladry and, in my opinion, far above the sagas of Germany and Iceland. About this central event are grouped a circle of tales more or less closely connected, and dealing directly or indirectly with the fortunes of Cuchulain and of Conchubar, who is related to Cuchulain as Agamemnon was to Achilles. The most beautiful of these subsidiary tales,—so beautiful that one may not hesitate to rank it among the few great stories of tradition,—is the ever memorable “Fate of the Sons of Usnach,” with its fateful heroine, Deirdre,—Deirdre, named of sorrow, “comely beyond comparison of all the women of the world.”

The manuscripts in which these tales have been preserved are numerous and date from the eleventh century, when the so-called “Book of the Dun Cow” was transcribed, down to comparatively recent times. Many of the stories had already appeared in excellent literal translations, but it remained for Lady Gregory to make of them an ordered piece of literature. By selecting the tales most closely related and arranging them in proper sequence, she has produced what may be called roughly the Epic of Ireland. To be sure, the same task had already been done,—and well done in a way,—by Miss Eleanor Hull, but Miss Hull’s work lacks that last creative touch needed to transfuse the various materials into one homogeneous body. This, Lady Gregory, by omitting a little here and there and by piecing together from the manifold forms in which the tales are handed down, has actually accomplished. There have not been wanting critics,—notably Mr. Edward Garnett,—who complain that in this process of moulding, Lady Gregory has smoothed away the wild, romantic spirit that gave the legends their piquancy and value. I confess that, after a pretty careful comparison of Lady Gregory’s versions with those given in Miss Hull’s volume and elsewhere, I entirely fail to see the force of this criticism. Almost invariably,—I cannot quite say always,—her omissions take away what is puerile or unconvincingly grotesque or extraneous. They can be called a loss, it seems to me, only by the pedant or the Irish enthusiast. Again, the additions which she has imported from manuscripts not used by Miss Hull or Mr. Whitley Stokes sometimes increase the interest of a story amazingly. As an

instance of such an addition, I would cite this exquisite piece of romance, which relates how Deirdre was first brought to the notice of men. Cathbad, the Druid, had come to the house just after the birth of Deirdre and had taken the child in his arms and foretold the evil that was to fall upon men through her loveliness. And this is what he said:—

“Let Deirdre be her name; harm will come through her * * *

“In your fate, O beautiful child, are wounds, and ill-doings, and shedding of blood.

“You will have a little grave apart to yourself; you will be a tale of wonder for ever, Deirdre.”

So the young child is given to Levarcham, her foster-mother, to be brought up in a lonely place among the hills, where the eye of man shall never light on her fatal dower of beauty. But here, as always in the realm of story, the radiant gem cannot be concealed:—

“Levarcham, that had charge of her, used to be giving Deirdre every knowledge and skill that she had herself. There was not a blade of grass growing from root, or a bird singing in the wood, or a star shining from heaven, but Deirdre had the name of it. But there was one thing she would not have her know, she would not let her have friendship with any living person of the rest of the world outside their own house.

“But one dark night of winter, with black clouds overhead, a hunter came walking the hills, and it so happened that he missed the track of the hunt, and lost his way and his comrades.

“And a heaviness came upon him, and he lay down on the side of the green hillock by Deirdre’s house. He was weak with hunger and going, and perished with cold, and a deep sleep came upon him. While he was lying there a dream came to the hunter, and he thought that he was near the warmth of a house of the Sidhe (or fairy folk who dwell in the hills), and the Sidhe inside making music, and he called out in his dream, ‘If there is any one inside, let them bring me in, in the name of the Sun and the Moon.’ Deirdre heard the voice, and she said to Levarcham, ‘Mother, mother, what is that?’ But Levarcham said, ‘It is nothing that matters; it is the birds of the air gone astray, and trying to find one another. But let them go back to the branches of the wood.’ Another troubled dream came on the hunter, and he cried out a second time. ‘What is that?’ asked Deirdre again. ‘It is nothing that matters,’ said Levarcham. ‘The birds of the air are looking for one another; let them go past to the branches of the wood.’ Then a third dream came to the hunter, and he cried out a third time, if there was any one in the hill to let him in for the sake of the Elements, for he was perished with cold and overcome with hunger. ‘Oh! what is that, Levarcham?’ said

Deirdre. 'There is nothing there for you to see, my child, but only the birds of the air, and they lost to one another, but let them go past us to the branches of the wood. There is no place or shelter for them here tonight.' 'Oh, mother,' said Deirdre, 'the bird asked to come in for the sake of the Sun and the Moon, and it is what you yourself told me, that anything that is asked like that, it is right for us to give it. If you will not let in the bird that is perished with cold and overcome with hunger, I myself will let it in.' So Deirdre rose up and drew the bolt from the leaf of the door, and let in the hunter."

This is not only exquisite in itself,—purer, sweeter romance will not easily be found though many ancient books be searched,—but it is necessary to the *êthos* of the events, as an Aristotelian would say, and the omission of it in Miss Hull's version leaves the story maimed of its fairest member. It shows very well, moreover, the quaint language Lady Gregory has chosen for her translation,—the spoken dialect of her beloved Ireland, very simple and colloquial yet touched with I know not what glamour of pathos and lyric passion in accord with the old-world romance of the legends. To follow Deirdre through the adventures of her tragic life; to tell how she is wooed by Conchubar, the King of Ulster; how she avoids the royal suitor and bestows her coveted love upon Naoise, the son of Usnach; how she flees with Naoise and his two brothers to Scotland; how they are lured back to Ireland; how Deirdre on the way prophesies of the evils to come; how the three sons of Usnach are treacherously slain; and how Deirdre by the waves of the sea gives up her young life that she may cheat the cruel king of so much loveliness and that she may not be parted from the three dear sons of Usnach,—all this would be to transgress the limits of an essay; and is it not written out fairly in the book? I cannot read this story of Deirdre, with her dower of fatal beauty and her wild, uncredited prophesyings of woe, without recalling the two heroines of Greece, Helen and Cassandra, whose characters she seems to bear strangely blended together; and I think if one does not set her lamentations among the noblest lyric poems of the world, he may be certain, as Mr. Yeats says, that the wine-press of the poets has been trodden for him in vain.

But Deirdre is not the only notable heroine in these tales. There is Emer of the yellow hair, of the fair form, whom Cuchulain took to wife after the long courting and after the high training in heroism under Scathach, the mystic woman of Scotland, there where he met Ferdiad his companion in arms. Emer, too, like Deirdre, knew the toils of fate, and her jealousy of Fand, the woman from beyond the waves of the great sea, is one of the memorable passions of the book. And like Deirdre,

she, too, in the end sang a marvelous lamentation over the body of her fallen lord. There is Maeve, the bloodthirsty queen of Connaught, who spurred on her people and knew no rest till she got for herself the magic bull of Cuailgne. And there is her daughter Findabair, of the fair eyebrows,—she whose love was promised by Maeve to the many champions who went out to slay Cuchulain, and last of all to Ferdiad to hearten him in the sad combat. But always Findabair cherished in her breast the passion she had felt for one dear, murdered suitor who was dear also to the Sidhe; and when she heard how her love had been promised to one champion after another and had caused their death, then, as the story relates, “her heart broke with the shame and the pity and she fell dead, and they buried her.”

It must not be supposed, however, that these heroines, attractive and human as they are, overshadow the warriors and princes and prophetic Druids who move through these scenes of adventure, or that the clamor and pathos of woman's love drown out the sound of battle-cry and the glory of mighty deeds. Still the epic valor of men over-rides all, the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, as it should in great stories. Our interest here, as Wordsworth felt on hearing the song of the Gaelic lass, is still

“For old, unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago.”

I am tempted in this connection to quote a little from the famous duel of Cuchulain and Ferdiad, if only to balance the softer passages of Deirdre's solitude. It is told in “The Cattle Raid of Coolney.” The clans of Ailell and Maeve had marched into Ulster, and, owing to a strange disease that held the other men of Ulster in bondage, Cuchulain alone was free to oppose the advancing host. This he does so effectually that day after day a selected champion of Connaught fell at his hands. At last, with the lure of Findabair's love, Maeve rouses Ferdiad, the old companion of Cuchulain in Scotland, to go out against the dreaded hero. Thereupon follows the battle of four days, with its contest of alternating pity and wrath and its mingling of

“All passions of a fight unmatched till then
On warfields of the immemorial world.”

And this is how their fighting and resting on the first day is told:—

“So they began with their casting weapons, and they took their protecting shields, and their round-handled spears, and their little quill spears, and their ivory-hilted knives, and their ivory-hafted spears, eight

of each of them they had. And these were flying from them and to them like bees on the wing on a fine summer day; there was no cast that did not hit, and each one went on shooting at the other with those weapons from the twilight of the early morning to the full midday, until all their weapons were blunted against the faces and the bosses of the shields. And as good as the throwing was, the defence was so good that neither of them drew blood from the other through that time.

“‘Let us leave these weapons now, Cuchulain,’ said Ferdiad, ‘for it is not by the like of them our fight will be settled.’ ‘Let us leave them, indeed, if the time be come,’ said Cuchulain.

“They stopped then, and threw their darts into the hands of their chariot-drivers. ‘What weapons shall we use now, Cuchulain?’ said Ferdiad. ‘The choice of weapons is yours till night,’ said Cuchulain. ‘Let us, then,’ said Ferdiad, ‘take to our straight spears, with the flaxen strings in them.’ ‘Let us now, indeed,’ said Cuchulain. And then they took two stout shields, and they took to their spears.

“Each of them went on throwing at the other with the spears from the middle of midday until the fall of evening. And good as the defence was, yet the throwing was so good that each of them wounded the other in that time.

“‘Let us leave this now,’ said Ferdiad. ‘Let us leave it, indeed, if the time has come,’ said Cuchulain.

“So they left off, and they threw their spears away from them into the hands of their chariot-drivers. Each of them came to the other then, and each put his hands round the neck of the other, and gave him three kisses. Their horses were in the one enclosure that night, and their chariot-drivers at the one fire; and their chariot-drivers spread beds of green rushes for them, with wounded men’s pillows on them.”

So the battle continued for three days, but on the fourth day, when the choice of weapons came a second time to Cuchulain, he chose the Gae Bulg, a mystical arm that no man could withstand, and on that day Ferdiad knew that he was to die. The lament of the victor over his fallen friend is one of the unforgettable lyrics of the book. And “this thing will hang over me for ever,” he cried in the end. “Yesterday he was larger than a mountain; today there is nothing of him but a shadow.”

I am aware that passages of this kind, when torn from their context, convey very feebly the original impression of the scene. Indeed, the excellence of these stories is not of the ballad sort that can be transferred to a page, but has the epic effect that comes from the accumulation or gradual development of interest. It depends on plot, in the Aristotelian sense of the word, on events, that is, so disposed as to bring out heroic

traits of character and to lead up to some supreme emotion. Now in so far as the Irish legends possess these qualities they merely conform to the model of the great story wherever and in whatever language it may be found. But they do possess, also, certain subsidiary qualities which quite distinguish them from other literatures, and which lend them a peculiar interest apart from plot and characterization and apart from the universal elements of humor and pathos and passion and sublimity.

And here I cannot help regretting that this body of Gaelic romance, altogether the finest product of the Celtic genius, was unknown to Renan and to Matthew Arnold when they wrote their respective essays. I can imagine how subtly they would have drawn out these subsidiary qualities and set forth the distinctive spirit of the Gael. Renan would not have dwelt so strongly on *isolation* as the master trait of Celtic character, Matthew Arnold would not, I think, have laid quite the same emphasis on *sentiment*; he would, perhaps, have laid even greater stress on the word *magic*, on the Celtic "gift of rendering with wonderful felicity the magical charm of nature." Magic is, indeed, as he reiterates in his way, just the word for it, but he would have given to the term a meaning fraught with far more of human emotion and less of fairy enchantment. He drew his inferences from the "Mabinogion,"—tales of the Cymri, another branch of the Celtic people, which are to the Gaelic epos as a child's book is to a man's. He would have found in the prose and verse of the Irish Gael the same delicacy and charm of magical description, though not so frequent, as in the Cymric tales, but he would have caught, also, a deeper note of magic power vibrant with passionate possibilities.

There is an ancient poem which tradition holds to have been uttered by Amergin, the son of Milesius, when, at the coming of the wanderers, he, first of the Gaels, set foot on Irish soil:—

"I am the wind which blows o'er the sea ;
I am the wave of the deep ;
I am the bull of seven battles ;
I am the eagle on the rock ;
I am a tear of the sun ;
I am the fairest of plants ;
I am a boar for courage ;
I am a salmon in the water ;
I am a lake in the plain ;
I am the word of knowledge."

This is not an expression of pantheism, as some have interpreted it, but of that kinship with the powers of nature, which never left the Gael and

which rises at times to a sense of magical identification. And always it is the medium of his emotion. So when Cuchulain has fought the lamentable battle with his son, who is unknown to him at first and is discovered only in death, he breaks out into a cry of anguish that is like an echo of the song of the first Gael:—

“‘I am the father that killed his own son, the fine green branch; there is no hand or shelter to help me.

“‘*I am a raven that has no home; I am a boat going from wave to wave; I am a ship that has lost its rudder; I am the apple left on the tree; it is little I thought of falling from it; grief and sorrow will be with me from this time.*’”

Nearness to nature was the very birthright of the Gael. No warrior of the land was without this sympathy, not even the great Finn, type of all warriors in later times. Dr. Sigerson has translated a haunting song in which Ossian, the son of Finn, relates to St. Patrick his father's love of bird and deer and sighing waters:—

“The tuneful tumult of that bird,
The belling deer on ferny steep;
This welcome in the dawn he heard,
These soothed at eve his sleep.

“Dear to him the wind-loved heath,
The whirr of wings, the rustling brake;
Dear the murmuring glens beneath,
And sob of Droma's lake.”

And as man is bound so closely to nature, so she in turn often assumes a human likeness that comes out in little touches of metaphor and personification. When, for example, one of the Ulster men went out to explore, his way of return lay across a river. “But he gave a false leap,” the story says, “just where the water was deepest, *and a wave laughed over him*, and he died.”

But these are lesser things. A more striking outcome of this magical identification (which passes far beyond the charm found by Matthew Arnold in the “Mabinogion”) is seen in what may be called the prophetic or foreboding sympathy of nature. By some mystic bond the waves of river and lake, the wide-flowing winds, the clouds, and the living creatures that grow upon the earth, are all prescient of the fate of the Gael and give signs of what is to befall him, so that he walks among them as through a world of riddling adumbrations. Thus before the great battle, when the sick men of Ulster arouse themselves to meet the

hosting of Connaught, Mac Roth, the herald, goes out to learn tidings of them for Ailell and Maeve, "and he had not long to wait before he heard a noise that was like the falling of the sky, or the breaking in of the sea over the land, or the falling of trees on one another in a great storm." And this is the report he brings back to the king and queen, "I thought I saw a grey mist far away across the plain, and then I saw something like falling snow, and then through the mist I saw something shining like sparks from a fire, or like the stars on a very frosty night." It is not necessary to remark how skilfully real appearances are here mingled with metaphor and magic foreboding, for the cloud was the dust that went up from the marching men of Ulster, and the flakes of snow were the foam flakes from their champing horses, and the stars were their angry eyes gleaming under their helmets. Other passages, more prophetic and less clearly metaphorical than this, might be quoted but none, perhaps, more characteristic of the Gaelic manner. Again, this mystic adumbration takes the form of a dream, as when the High King Conaire foresees his doom. And it is what he said: "I had a dream in my sleep a while ago, of the howling of my dog Oscar, of wounded men, of a wind of terror, of keening that overcame laughter." Or again, the warning passes still further beyond the scope of ordinary phenomena and becomes a waking vision of the day that appears with symbolic form. In this manner, before his death, Cuchulain goes forth with Cathbad, the Druid, and, coming to a ford, beholds "a young girl, thin and white-skinned and having yellow hair, washing and ever washing, and wringing out clothing that was stained crimson red, and she crying and keening all the time."

Not unrelated to this kind of visionary symbolism is another device of the Irish story-tellers which forms one of the commonest features of their art. It is a trick that Homer used to describe the army of Greece and that Sir Walter Scott has made familiar to modern readers in the scene where Rebecca looks out from the tower and relates to Ivanhoe the progress of the siege. No more certain means is known to lend vividness and human interest to a narrative, and our "raconteurs" have not been slow to take profit therefrom. Now this rhetorical device was long ago employed by the Gaelic poets,—employed so frequently and with such mingling of magic vision that it is on the whole the most striking peculiarity of their art. Not unlike the simple manner of Sir Walter is the account of the great battle given by his chariot driver to Cuchulain while the warrior lies wounded after his duel with Ferdiad; only hardly in Sir Walter will you find any expression of passionate regret like the cry of Cuchulain, "My grief! I not to be able to go

among them!" More symbolic and Gaelic in spirit is the scene before the raid, when the heroes of Ulster come to Cruachan, the stronghold of Maeve, that the queen may decide which of them deserves the title of champion. The sound of their furious driving reaches the listeners in the castle, and then it was that "Findabair of the Fair Eyebrows, daughter of Ailell and Maeve, went up, for she had a bird's sight, to her sunny parlor over the great door of the fort, to tell them what was coming." One after another she describes the various heroes in their chariots with their host of followers. At last she beholds Cuchulain, and she cries out: "I see in the chariot a dark, sad man, comeliest of the men of Ireland. A pleated crimson tunic about him, fastened at the breast with a brooch of inlaid gold; a long-sleeved linen cloak on him with a white hood embroidered with flame-red gold. His eyebrows as black as the blackness of a spirit, seven lights in his eyes, seven colors about his head, love and fire in his look. Across his knees there lies a gold-hilted sword, there is a blood-red spear ready to his hand, a sharp-tempered blade with a shaft of wood. Over his shoulders a crimson shield with a rim of silver, overlaid with shapes of beasts in gold." There is more here than mere description, than the prevailing love of these tellers for radiant many-blended colors; the blood-red spear is ready to the hero's hand, and we feel the onrushing of some tremendous event. And Maeve in her mind knows what the vision means and interprets it: "Like the sound of an angry sea, like a great moving wave, with the madness of a wild beast that is vexed, he leaps through his enemies in the crash of battle; they hear their death in his shout. He heaps deed upon deed, head upon head; his is a name to be put in songs."

A name to be put in songs! I come in truth to what lies nearest my heart in this attempt to awaken interest in a book of ancient legends. It is well that scholars should make for us a literal, studiously exact translation of these tales, like, for example, Miss Winifred Faraday's "Cattle Raid of Cuailgne," lately published in the Grimm Library; it is well, still better in my judgment, that Lady Gregory has gathered them together and wrought them into something approaching epic unity; best of all will it be when these inspiring themes have been absorbed into the body of English literature, and have given us, as I doubt not they will give, great poems that are both English and modern, yet are pervaded with that fructifying spirit of true romance which it has been the one high office of the Celtic peoples to bestow upon the world. When I see the eager and vain search for substance in nearly all our living poets, their mere school-girl's delight in pretty nature embroidered in pretty words, or even Kipling's melodious Jingoism, I am amazed that some

one of them does not fall upon this treasure-house of unrifled inspiration and write for us a new epic,—a truer epic than Tennyson's "Idyls of the King," for he would not be seduced into the sentimentalism that clings so often to the Arthurian tradition. Here at his asking is a theme to which he might devote all his genius, a labor for which he might strive, like Milton, to make of himself first of all a true poem, or school himself in manifold learning like the ollav of ancient days.

I know that Cuchulain and his achievements have exercised many recent poets of Ireland, but the right singer has not yet arisen. Ferguson was brave and manly, but lacked the flower of art; Aubrey de Vere was cultured and sensitive, but wanted the informing spirit of originality so that his blank verse is Miltonic and Tennysonian by turns, a thing of shreds and patches. There is, to be sure, the younger group of the Gaelic revival, but somehow too much of their work shows the shimmering hues of decadence rather than the strong colors of life. It is a paradox, and yet I believe it is true, that if ever these themes are worked over and moulded into the universal form of modern art, it will be by Saxon hands and not by Celtic. Some fatal weakness would seem to adhere to this gifted race of the Celts, some incapacity that comes on them, as the sickness came on the men of Ulster when the need was most urgent, and prevents them from inheriting the perfect product of their own imagination. The hated Saxon shall lay hold of their spiritual heritage as he has taken possession of their land, and no clamorous outcry of patriotic scholars and of Gaelic leagues shall inhibit him. In the same way it was the Celt who originated the legend of King Arthur and his court, the fairest creation of the Middle Ages, but it remained for the Frenchman to take up the subject and shape it and rationalize it until it grew to be the fountain head of European literature. There is a tradition still held among the Gaels that Finn and his mighty comrades are not dead but sleeping and that one day they shall arouse themselves and restore the Gael to his national inheritance, just as the Welsh look for the coming again of Arthur. It is related that a lonely wanderer in the hills came to their resting place and saw there a horn with the command graven on it that it should be blown three times. Once he blew, and the sleepers, men and dogs, stirred in their slumber. A second time he blew, and the warriors rose on their elbows and gazed at him. But his nerve failed him then and he fled in terror from the ghostly spectacle, with the cry of the prisoners ringing in his ears, "A thousand curses on you; you have left us worse than you found us!" And they are still sleeping, waiting for the bold Saxon who shall come and shall wind the magic horn the third time and not be afraid. A dreamer to the end the

Celt remains, but the waking power of the controlling poet forever eludes him :—

“ Alone among his kind he stands alone,
Torn by the passions of his own sad heart ;
Stoned by continual wreckage of his dreams,
He in the crowd for ever is apart.”

And besides this inefficiency of the dreamer, there is in the leaders of the so-called Gaelic revival, a spirit which militates against the production of pure art. One feels constantly that these poets and romancers are too little concerned with literature for its own sweet sake, and too much bent, as Spenser wrote long ago, who knew the Irish people so well, on “the hurt of the English and the maintenance of their owne lewd libertie.” That is a phrase,—“their owne lewd libertie,”—which expresses admirably the lack of inner restraint, of the final shaping force, that made of these Cuchulain tales, even in the heroic days when Ireland was capable of great things, a collection of epic fragments marvelously shot through with lyric beauty, instead of a completed work of art such as Greece and Rome were able to create. It is as if the poet, with all his fire and insight,—poet truly though he may have spoken in prose,—never fully understood the material he was working in, and so failed at the last to develop what came to him as an initial inspiration. And this failure shows itself in sins both of commission and omission.

There is, first of all, a vein of childishness which crops up too often just when the tone should be most serious and tragic. It is characteristic that in the original quarrel of Ailell and Maeve, on which the whole central story of the raid hinges, there should be a bit of puerile talk about a white-horned bull who had left Maeve’s herd for Ailell’s because he did not think it was fitting to be under the rule of a woman. Or, to mention a single other example, in the very midst of the tremendous feats of Cuchulain the reader is suddenly shocked out of his tragic sympathy by hearing that the champion smeared blackberries on his face to give himself the appearance of a beard. Not unlike this childishness is the recurring note of exaggeration and grotesque supernaturalism ; it is the magic of the Celt run riot. To compare these stories with the *Iliad*,—and not seldom the comparison is perfectly legitimate,—the effect is the same as if the battle of the gods and the incredible events at the Scamander were broken up and scattered indiscriminately throughout the Trojan war. These are sins of commission which only mean in the end that the Cuchulain saga, with all its incomparable poetry, is in its present form mediæval and not classic and universal.

And there are faults of omission which tend to the same result, and which show that the poet, despite his noble inspiration, was never quite master of his theme. They are errors of construction chiefly, a failure to perceive clearly the great moments of a story and to prepare the mind of the reader for them in advance. Thus there is a certain resemblance between Cuchulain's use of the magic Gae Bulg on the last day of the duel with Ferdiad and the arming of Achilles for his supreme encounter with Hector; but mark the difference. No adequate preparation is made in the Irish tale for this event; the very name of the weapon is almost a surprise to the reader and its form and nature are left altogether obscure, whereas a long episode in the *Iliad* is devoted to the making of Achilles' shield.¹ Again, a poet quite sure of his art would have developed the friendship of Cuchulain and Ferdiad early in the narrative and thus have given some foreboding of the tragic climax. A more luminous illustration may be found in a comparison of the prophetic fate of the two heroes, Cuchulain and Achilles. Both are aware that life is short for them, that early death is the price they must pay for glory among men and fame eternal in song. When Cuchulain is a boy at play in the fields he hears Cathbad, the Druid, declare that if any young man should take arms on that day his name would be greater than any other name in Ireland but his span of life would be brief. And "it is little I would care," said Cuchulain, "if my life were to last one day and one night only, so long as my name and the story of what I had done would live after me." That is well, but somehow it is a little lacking in emotional content, and the foreboding of the hero's death is quite forgotten in the story that follows. Instinctively we recall the scene of the Greek hero, sitting in solitude and brooding over his destiny:—

"But Achilles sat far apart from his companions, weeping, on the shore of the grey sea, looking out over the illimitable ocean; and much he besought his dear mother with outstretched hands: 'Mother, since thou hast born me for a brief and little life, at least Zeus, the Thunderer on high Olympus, should have bestowed honor upon me.' " And always throughout the vicissitudes of the *Iliad* we remember what destiny hovers over the young warrior. In the different employment of this similar material one feels the distinction between great poetry in its embryonic state and poetry fully wrought out and achieved.

The same inefficiency penetrates even deeper into the Irish genius.

(1) It is hardly necessary to say that I am aware of the criticism which makes this episode a late addition to the poem. I speak of the *Iliad* as it stands, with all its inconsistencies, still the most perfectly constructed poem devised by man or men.

In his study of "The Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth," Mr. Alfred Nutt has, with no little acumen, set forth the likeness of the early mythological age of Ireland to the period in Greece when the Dionysiac cult was developed. He finds in the Sidhe, or fairy folk of the Gael, the same Powers of Life and Increase which were personified in the Hellenic god of death and rebirth, of wine and frenzied ecstasy. It is significant that in Ireland these powers became a tricky people whose acts were inwrought with the longing of the people for a fair, shadowy other-world, a Tirnanog, or "land with living heart," a heaven of dreams, very beautiful and winsome, appearing here and there in vision to the lonely wanderer, and inspiring his lyric joys, but without moral intent or serious influence; whereas from Dionysus and the mystery of his passion sprang, in Greece, the greatest and most profoundly moral drama the world has ever seen. Yet,—and this, too, it is fair to say,—Dionysus and the tragedy of Greece have passed away, while the simple peasant of Ireland still beholds glimpses of the happy Sidhe and still hears the voices luring him away to some Land of Youth that lies beyond the hills or over the sea. I cannot but think that the band of enthusiasts who are attempting to recreate today a literature of Ireland in the Irish tongue are seduced by the same impalpable visions that have haunted their pathetic land from the beginning. In the day of his greatness the Gael prepared for the world a body of inspiration, whose haunting but imperfect beauty I have tried to set forth; now the inheritance lies open to all people and awaits the strong hand of the stranger who shall make it his own.

Yet the honor shall, nevertheless, in a way be Ireland's. One poet the new movement has produced, Irish in birth but Saxon and Greek in training,—Lionel Johnson,—whose early death is still remembered. The restrained power of his ode on the sorrows of Ireland might seem to justify the hopes of the patriotic enthusiasts, were it not that the form and manner of his writing show more of the Saxon than of the Gael:—

"And yet great spirits ride thy winds : thy ways
Are haunted and enchanted evermore.
Thy children hear the voices of old days
In music of the sea upon thy shore,
In falling of the waters from thy hills,
In whispers of thy trees :
A glory from the things eternal fills
Their eyes, and at high noon thy people sees
Visions, and wonderful is all the air.
So upon earth they share
Eternity : they learn it at thy knees."

THE FUTURE OF CHINA

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THE consideration uppermost in the mind of a student of the world's welfare contemplating the present situation in Eastern Asia, is the influence of China's undoing upon the entire body of civilized peoples. The vastness of the prize at stake, when compared with any region heretofore coming within reach of European arms, is enough to make one open one's eyes and renew acquaintance with a map of the globe. The whole continent of Africa is not so rich, at least in available assets; even India is not so valuable a property as China, estimated from the standpoint of labor producing population or of natural resources. It would be an impertinence in a periodical of discussion and criticism to set forth in due array a statistical account of China's wealth in climate, soil, minerals, and material for manufacture. Great as is its reputation it appears to be actually underestimated. But the statement may be made that in accessibility and variety, in extent of fertile territory, in waterways, and in robust and industrious inhabitants she probably surpasses any land of similar area in the world. Thus far these resources have been developed principally on the surface of the ground and to a comparatively small degree in its depths. The application of machines and methods perfectly familiar to operatives on the other side of the globe will enormously enhance the productivity and the earning capacity of the country. The task of development would be physically easy; it has only to be undertaken.

The temptation is an extraordinary one. Even the moral theorist, who plays a more prominent rôle in this age of Christendom than ever before, sees good excuse for a partition of the spoil among the militant nations of the West, who have, since the invention of the steam engine and the breech-loader, subjected and controlled about one third of the world's population and rather more than one half its land area. Were Europe now under a Roman emperor or in process of forming her states as in the recent past, there is little reason to doubt what would have been the policy which Rome or any strong nation would have pursued in view of the opportunity for conquest and possession.

The "entente cordiale" between the European states engendered while the Peking legations were besieged, has languished under the long strain of diplomatic negotiations, in which, while no adequate reparation

from China has been secured, it became abundantly evident that in Europe the political equilibrium was too delicate to endure a division or adjustment by her statesmen of this huge derelict among nations. China henceforth may be badgered and punished, as Turkey has been for two centuries, but like Turkey she will escape demolition because of the jealousies among her would-be destroyers. There is no longer, it would appear, any serious danger of the partition of China. Like the giant of Grecian fable, her strength comes from mother earth, so that repeated falls only render her stronger, and since Europe can produce no Hercules sufficient for the great work of the monster's overthrow, Antæus must go on living.

There remains, therefore, one question as to whether he is to be allowed to go on living in the old way,—whether, after successfully defying the European powers, China will be able to resume the dearest prerogative of her past autonomy, the attitude and policy of a hermit nation. If the economic processes, which are the main agents in causing China's transfer from mediævalism to modern conditions, are rightly estimated, it is impossible to imagine success in her desire for retrogression. She is coerced, by forces more powerful even than the fleets and armies of a united Europe, to change her ways and become partner in a world that seems suddenly to have grown too small to permit any members of the human family to neglect the common interest. Whatever the issue, whether she dies, like ancient Egypt in her river valley, or is broken and dispersed like ancient Babylonia, or survives like old Rome to improve the world through institutions preserved and extended by her children, it is safe to assume that the China of the past is undone forever, that in the future she must be fashioned anew.

The impotency of the governments of the major European states to materially influence her regeneration may, perhaps, be made evident by some study of the characteristics of the Chinese people. Let us, as Westerners, cherish no illusions in this matter, but confess at the outset that with the best intentions imaginable the white race can effect nothing for China's upbuilding through direct interference, while by a policy of persistent intermeddling or armed occupation, vexatious calamities become inevitable. There used to be in New England country villages a generation of physicians who were wise only because they understood their limitations. "Let nature have her way," they said in cases when, nowadays, the surgeon comes by rail from afar to sacrifice the patient (perhaps) in an operation required to support a favorite hypothesis. It is not proper to say, in view of the evidence before us, either that we understand the complaint of this sick man of Further Asia, or can pre-

dict his recovery, but the one chance of safe and happy issue out of all his afflictions is to let his Chinese nature take its course and regenerate in its own queer but effective way. While it is still physically possible for Europe to use the surgeon's knife and partition China, the operation would be difficult and perilous in the extreme, and certain to involve disaster. Whatever difficulties attend the adoption of the so-called "open door" policy, they at least admit of adjustment if Europeans are willing to act together in reasonable good faith. The opposite scheme of parcelling out China into spheres of influence deliberately courts future trouble by ignoring the fundamental traits of human nature. Its effect on the Chinese people would be to exasperate a populace hitherto suspicious of but not hostile to foreigners; it would foment rebellion as foreign conquest has in the past, paralyze efforts toward honest and economical administration, and rob the territorial possessor of all commercial profit and reward. On Europeans the influence of such acquisitions might be different in the case of each nation. England would perhaps take on the added burden with no illusions as to its prospective benefit to her empire, but who can doubt that on the continent the new gains would excite such hunger for other men's possessions as even the nineteenth century did not know, or that the "spheres" would presently become permanent protectorates with Russian, German, or French institutions and ideas, instead of furthering the development of a common, homogeneous Chinese culture as in the past? It may be, indeed, that China would perish rather than succumb, and that after centuries of tumult and punishment she might be annihilated as was the whole of North Africa, once the richest portion of the Mediterranean basin. Or she might survive the shock of wars, as did Western Asia after the crusades, to imperil Christendom for centuries by the outpouring of hate thereby engendered.

Happily there are grounds for hope that an enlightened Europe will refuse both horns of this ugly dilemma by abstaining hereafter from armed aggression. Here, too, the Boxers were in some sense the victors, —not in their insane ambition to frighten foreigners out of the country, but rather in convincing them that under certain circumstances the Chinaman will fight so desperately as to make it inexpedient to oppose his multitudinous array by force of arms. It remains for us to inquire how, under these ungrateful influences, the Chinese Empire may be renovated by the ferment of its own latent energies, and attain a place among the nations of the earth commensurate with its size and worthy of its ancient dignity and traditions.

Any estimate of national character is at best approximate. No

foreigner in a strange country can fully understand, no native can explain, those psychical phenomena that in their subtle complexity are exhibited, perhaps, to both alike. The mistake is often made of trying to interpret them either by strictly intellectual symptoms, the literature or religious institutions of a race, or by personal observation of the common people. Neither measure is by itself quite trustworthy. A literature is,—if it is anything worth the name,—the best thought of the race, its aspirations, not its achievement; on the other hand, by study of living individuals alone we lose sight of the type, which is the expression not of one but of many. These are mere commonplaces if applied to the peoples of the West, whose intrinsic divergencies we recognize, but it is curious how uncritical we become of those who advertise their knowledge of the East. Where is the arbiter before whose opinion we must bow in deciding upon the relative merits of opposing civilizations?

In examining the difficult problem of Chinese nature, which is the great factor in devising a basis for future settlement, four elemental qualities may be observed as the chief obstacles in the way of China's readjustment to entirely changed conditions,—conservatism, conceit, ignorance, and superstition. Milleniums of isolation and the unchanging habit of supercilious disregard for inferior neighbors which this has engendered have in a measure ossified the body of Chinese ideas, so that it has become passive and immobile to a degree scarcely recognized in the West. Confucius has been set forth as the type and agent of this conservatism, which is comprehended both in his admiration of "the ancients" and in his doctrine of the mean. He gave stability to his countrymen at a critical period by holding up for imitation the paternal absolutism of a primitive society and by preaching moderation. But Confucius was not a conservative after the manner of his commentators. He was a reformer and a protestant against the misgovernment of his times. He was in his fashion a socialist, condemning capitalists and the non-productive classes, believing in the nationalization of land, and desiring every household to own at least a pig and five hens. There is reason to believe, indeed, that current traditions of the extreme conservatism of the sage are due to interpolations of subsequent ages when tyranny had perfected its machinery of rule. This is a cardinal thesis of the exiled reformer, Kang Yu-wei; and if he can convince his contemporaries that Confucius recognized the necessity of social and political changes to meet altered circumstances, we shall behold a profound revolution in this most steadfast of countries. Such a conversion is not impossible. It is one of the effects of long repression under theories of moderation carried to extremes, that the reaction when it arrives is cyclonic in intensity.

Even the massive conservatism and respect for the dead which characterized the ancient Egyptians did not prevent their learning the lesson of progress from time to time during their long existence as a cultured and powerful nation; and China is less narrow than the Nile valley. We must remember, nevertheless, that though not unsusceptible to change the Chinaman is definitely and implacably hostile to the foreign ruler, distinctly preferring bad government by one of his kind to good government by Europeans. He may like one foreigner better than another; he may even go abroad for a time to live in alien lands; but he will never be content at home unless ruled by a Chinaman or by one who has become Chinese. So far he may be called patriotic.

The obstacle presented by Chinese self-esteem to national regeneration is more formidable than their maintenance of old ideals. Theirs is a race which has made a virtue of conceit, which teaches in every printed page the doctrine that China is the earth, that beyond that privileged land there are only barbarism, misery, and ignorance, which professes the profoundest contempt for everything bearing the name of foreign, a contempt only equaled by the hatred which it is a religious duty to exhibit when a foreigner suggests improvements. The attitude is childish and pitiful, but it is very natural. It is shown in high life by attempts to claim Chinese invention not only in the earliest use of gunpowder and the compass but in steam and electricity, chemistry and the other sciences. "Now," observes Admiral Peng Yü-lin in his book, "China's Indulgence Toward Foreigners," "these intelligent Western scholars took this teaching and developed it, but own they cannot surpass what is recorded in Chinese books. Chinese scholars, however, unacquainted with their own philosophers of yore, are foolish enough when they see some strange thing used by foreigners to think it new * * * It is the Chinese who most excels in these skilful things after all, only he does not care for them." In low life the exhibition of this spirit is rather finer because simpler and more monumental. The story is told that when, after years of stubborn opposition, the telegraph was at last brought to Tientsin, a native there, pointing to the poles and wires, asked an American missionary, "Have you this useful Chinese thing, the electric telegraph, in your country?" Probably every foreigner in China understanding the language could match this tale. Conceit is very troublesome to daily intercourse, but China has so long abandoned herself to the lethargy not of senility but of long custom and self-content that the habits of her mature years are hard to reform. It is chiefly stimulated in the upper class by jealousy of foreigners, who are suspected, not unreasonably, perhaps, of wishing to relieve the mandarins of their peculiar privileges. To this opposition of

an office holding élite is largely due, also, the deplorable insincerity of official life at Peking, the dishonesty and hypocrisy of which is in striking contrast to the scrupulous honesty of Chinese mercantile intercourse everywhere. It might be difficult to show which of these two classes in China is the better representative of average morality, but it is as idle to argue from the first the irremediable depravity of Chinese ethics, as it would be to deduce from the second the perfect probity of its people in all transactions. England had the same office holding class before the Reform Bill, desperately anxious to preserve for itself a monopoly which was its livelihood and had cost it dear to purchase; nor are pride and dishonesty unknown allies elsewhere in European history.

Ignorance is a trait quite as familiar as conceit among the children of men; its peculiar feature as an impediment in China lies in the ignorance involved in her learning. The whole story is pretty fully told in a single paragraph in Dr. Smith's "Village Life," which is eminently worth quoting: "The whole plan of Chinese study has been aptly called intellectual infanticide. The outcome of it is that it is quite possible that the village scholar, who has the entire classics at his tongue's end, who has been examined before the literary chancellor more times than he can remember, may not know fact from fiction, nor history from mythology. He is, perhaps, not certain whether a particular historical character lived in the Han Dynasty or in the Ming Dynasty, though the discrepancy involves a matter of one thousand or twelve hundred years. He does not profess to be positive whether a given name represents a real person, or whether it may not, perhaps, have been merely one of the *dramatis personæ* of a theatrical play. He cannot name the governors of three out of the eighteen provinces, nor does he know the capitals of a third of those provinces. He never studied any geography, ancient or modern, he never saw an ancient atlas nor a modern map of China,—never, in fact, heard of one." This intellectual obtuseness among the literati is the strangest result of an educational system which is properly one of the boasts of China's past. We shall, perhaps, discover that their minds are as keen as those of any people, but among men of mature years they are as carefully unfitted for progress by the peculiar trammels of a course in classical literature as are their women's feet by the bandages imposed by fashion.

The term superstitions instead of religions is purposely used to cover the whole realm of spiritual phenomena as developed in the Chinese mind; for the only indigenous cult of China, Confucianism, has never risen above the sphere of human reason to that of the ultra-rational and supernatural; it is, therefore, an ethical or a politico-moral system, it is

not a religion. The various and puerile idolatries, on the other hand, passing under the name of Taoism and Buddhism, which the learned despise but which they dare not disregard, are in their degeneracy scarcely better than recrudescient Shamanism. In spite of much excellent advice and reasoning contained in their doctrines, the falsely called "religions" of China have no basis in the divine relation of man to God, no adequate sanctions of rewards and punishments after death. Those systems which have been imported from abroad have sunk to a level with the lowest stages of animism or, like Muhammadanism and Nestorianism, have made no perceptible impression on the mass of the people. One result of the Chinese lack of a sufficient creed has been the atrophy of what we call *conscience*, a failure to respond to ideals which are other-worldly in matters of conduct; another has been a credulousness in respect to magic, enchantments, and all the bewilderments of the black art which leads vulgar and learned alike astray. To both these issues are chiefly due their dishonesty, immorality, and sensual vices as well as those amazing delusions, like the belief in the invulnerability of the Boxers, the prevalence of which actually moulds the life of the nation. As to the dishonor and economic waste of stealing public funds this, it must be confessed, is not very keenly felt anywhere in Asia. Kept within bounds bribes are considered to be a sort of salary paid by those having business at the office, while a highly paid set of mandarins must be a charge to every tax-payer. The feeling is a suggestive illustration of the deadening influence of a merely ethical code in communities that have not felt the quickening impulse of a morality endorsed by religion.

Among the factors in Chinese character which have made for permanence in their national life and which will inevitably influence their future, are traits of industry, democracy, sanity, and adaptiveness; these must be considered as counteracting the influences of obstruction just named. The Chinese are not only the most industrious of men, but they are a people who have always done their own work, a race among whom slavery has never been a coefficient of economic importance. Their economy, which is the result of centuries of painstaking, has made them the most remunerative laborers in Asia, and when trained to the use of machinery they may become, perhaps, the best producers in the world. There are upon this point among experts varying opinions which need not occupy us here, but the exhibition of this familiar trait has produced an impression upon the fears of their labor rivals in western countries strongly confirming its reality. However the competition between workmen in the old and new worlds may result, there is one corollary to Chinese industriousness that must not be overlooked. It has bred among

them an indomitable perseverance that weighs mightily in the long run. Just as England will not allow the smallest harm befalling any part of her empire to go unavenged, so China, though sometimes humbled by the superior strength of her enemies, has achieved by persistence a national reputation and prestige that makes it natural and necessary for her people to aspire to regain their lost supremacy in Asia. This is the feeling, inarticulate but real, which in time will counteract the passivity and stiffen the pride of the mass to effectual action. Nor is it quite just to argue that this is too much to expect from a people whose excessive abstemiousness has rendered them pusillanimous and reduced the spirit of enterprise. There is evidence that in India and the Archipelago the human body like the steam engine reaches a point where further economy of fuel becomes sheer waste. The physiological contention is worth considering, for the Chinese are on the whole the beast eaters on the continent, and if the spirit of enterprise is due, in part at least, to food and drink, they cannot be accused of neglecting their stomachs for their brains.

Their democracy under an autocratic government is the palpable cause of that homogeneity of China which is its chief characteristic. It is not that in China men are all alike; society with them is probably composed of as many ethnic groups as in India. But they have been accustomed so long to think and act alike as to have become thoroughly welded into a uniform mass which has acquired a strong sense of solidarity found only in the best knitted republics. China, in fact, seems to combine the advantages of absolutism and democracy in a degree elsewhere unknown. Pure autocracy, especially if supported by a subservient aristocracy, always renders the sovereign a puppet if he is not a man of strength and originality. But in China that dangerous element, a hereditary nobility, is practically non-existent. The five ancient titles of Chinese aristocracy descend with decreasing rank with each generation and soon become extinct; they carry with them no official place nor legislative power, and may always be revoked at the emperor's pleasure. A sense of obligation relates to one centre, as in all ancient governments; yet, as in the United States, where consolidation was the result of centripetal forces which combined several nuclei of growth, there is a sort of allegiance within an allegiance, associated neither with prince nor prelate but rather with a political order and institutions developed during many centuries. In theory the idea of Chinese rule may seem utterly different from ours; the notion of popular elections, for instance, must always be thought nonsense in a land where power and right of sovereignty are supposed to be given by God alone. There exists, however, a curious

but real similarity between the western type of the Anglo-Saxon and the Chinese. Both exhibit the same power of combination, both are sensitive yet rather slow to anger. Like the American the Chinese cannot be easily driven or wronged with impunity. He obeys his government officials, but only to the extent of his reason, beyond which obedience is nominal and even the emperor's edict becomes a dead letter. In fact, the real exponent of imperial authority is the Chih Hsien or district magistrate, the officer who comes nearest to the people. He is responsible for rebellions, immoralities, and crimes, for the roads, bridges, and town walls, the temples, taxes, census, militia, and examinations, for droughts and floods, for famines and fires; he sits as judge, jury, and counsel on all suits criminal and civil within his baliwick; he is both servant and victim of the people, for he cannot shirk such duties as these, and complaints of his misdeeds when proved almost always insure his removal; yet he is also the arbiter of their destinies. Under such an administration the legal function remains, of course, in a rudimentary stage. There are no lawyers, yet justice, such as it is, comes swift and sure, and the effect of so primitive an institution is to make the people wary of law courts and willing to settle disputes. With conceptions and experience in democracy of this sort it will be seen that no European plans can be successfully carried out in disregard of the Chinaman's inclination and choice.

The Chinese are not imaginative; on the contrary, they are practical to a degree which, while it places them on a lower plane intellectually than the Hindus or the Persians, strengthens our confidence in the continuance of their civilization. This sanity or worldly mindedness of the race, its absence of spiritual enthusiasm and prosaic insistence upon a certain degree of creature comfort, is the main basis for the hopes of those traders who purpose, in the language of commerce, "to educate the Chinaman to buy our goods in paying quantities." Economically considered the expectation will be futile, of course, until the Chinaman is able to produce something we want in exchange for "our goods," but it is true that the appetite is there and with it an ambition for accumulating assets which is lacking in most Asiatics,—those of India, for example, who stay naked when prosperous and only buy bangles or hide their silver in the ground. This characteristic combined with their industry ranks the Chinese sociologically high among races of men. It is common to all classes among them. Collectively they appear to be without nerves; the mandarin, as well as the coolie, upon a journey, if no better shelter be forthcoming, will sleep contentedly in a tent or in his cart, while all are luxurious if opportunity allows. They are thus

better fitted to endure the long strain of competition than their keener rivals, the Occidentals, whom effort exhausts in proportion as they attain success. Despite poverty and occasional overwhelming catastrophes from plague and famine the Chinese are good natured and even happy, or willing to be as little unhappy as possible if happiness itself is out of reach. In two words, equanimity and common sense may be said to reign supreme in the daily affairs of life to the practical exclusion of worry and that tendency to martinetism which frequently distinguishes the proceedings of English, German, or Japanese officials.

Were this supremely valuable quality of rationality always in evidence among Chinamen, we might well entertain fears for our industrial future at their hands. It has been observed, however, that their superstition often makes shipwreck of reason; when once infatuated they are perhaps less sane than other victims of their own delusions. For this cause and owing to the limitation involved in his adaptiveness, the Chinaman's wonderful economic strength has been marked by a certain sterility. He copies and applies rather than invents. He is, as we see him in America, not enthusiastically receptive but intelligent and capable of availing himself of the advantages of scientific method. He does not conceive the future in terms of the present multiplied by millions; he lacks, therefore, the enterprise born of an optimistic imagination which conjures up for himself or his successors visions of far-reaching undertakings. Rather, he is content to base prospective hopes as well as present actions upon formulæ of the past. The imitative habit, which so impresses the European observer, will always tend to keep the Chinese workman in a subordinate position, though it may become a factor of the first importance in sustaining him against total subversion amid the difficulties that now beset him.

The category remains very incomplete, but enough has, perhaps, been shown in this superficial resumé of a people's character, to point to a few conclusions of general value in estimating China's future prospects. Yet the study is to no purpose unless it convinces us that while reform must come from within, the impulse can only come from without. Their very virtues, their fine stability and sense, exhibited on so great a scale become barriers that may be leaped only by help of the momentum gained from a start far away. The seeming imperviousness of the Chinese mind is the agonizing test of those missionaries whose devoted lives are often accounted fruitless because, as a clever woman has sneeringly said, they gradually burn out all their aspirations like joss sticks

and a grateful odor alone remains. Nevertheless, the hope that China is to become a new country need not be stultified because we do not see the transformation in our own day or in accordance with our preconceptions. The effort to revolutionize the habits of centuries' growth by insisting on raising the standard of comfort to fit our fashions, and so filling all China with discontent, seems hardly worth while. Nor is the more brutal and dangerous policy of "making them understand" by punishment any more profitable in the long run. They have not shown in the past any nimble response to this treatment, though when China has reached her strength she will be keenly conscious of wrongs to be avenged, the results of many years of European inhumanity and aggression. Unhappily we may not ignore this very human factor in our prognosis of the future.

The opinion of a small but spirited company of Chinese reformers themselves is that the Chinese for some years have only been waiting for a leader to begin a national movement. Kang Yu-wei, the so-called revolutionist, is a type of the intellectual agency through whom China will become enlightened. He is learned, resolute, sincere, and above all he is a native. The crisis of his career, that of the famous reform edicts of September, 1898, was an abysmal failure, indeed, but in that brief spasm of imperial approval a thousand mandarins throughout the empire took to perusing foreign books,—proof enough that they entertained no personal antipathy for them. For the Chinese are at once the slowest and most rapid of people. They may pretend indifference for years, and change in a night because some estoppel has been removed which the closest European observer had never suspected. It was so with the telegraph until the war with France, a year or two after which found every official yamên connected by wire with headquarters. So it will be in time with mines and manufactures, to which the Chinaman is not indifferent though of them he may long remain distrustful. And this was precisely the prophecy of the First Minister, Wên Hsiang, as to railroads, more than thirty years ago.

In order to understand the relation of economic causes to the present unrest which affects all parts of the empire alike, we must recall the fact that only within the past century had the application of steam and electricity to all kinds of manufacture and methods of transportation enabled western countries to make and export commodities far in excess of their own needs. The period immediately succeeding the invention of modern labor saving and carrying devices was, of course, chiefly devoted to developing the resources and constructing the new plants which operate the industries of Europe and America today. The transformation of eco-

conomic conditions was rapid enough here to threaten society with dangerous convulsions, while we were creating and experimenting on this enormous scale, but the change in a larger sense cannot be said to have been completed until the old generation had passed away and a new race of machine trained men had arisen. Accustomed to an amount and rate of productivity that would have staggered their fathers, the merchants and manufacturers of today have already flooded Europe and the New World with rather more goods than even their highly stimulated appetency can consume. Still the machinery goes on grinding out at increasing speed things that must be disposed of, or ruin will ensue. In the pursuit of markets every habitable territory on the globe is exploited and the contented savage and indifferent heathen are enticed or pressed to cultivate an appetite for our various products. This has brought about the sudden colonial expansion of European states, which, with its mechanical inventions, is likely to become the distinguishing mark of the nineteenth century. But colonial areas are not sufficient; nothing is sufficient for this rising freshet of surplus manufactures which wells forth until it covers the earth and there is no land that has escaped the inundation.

Japan, with a sagacity that places her in a rank quite unique among nations, has prepared herself for the changed conditions which menaced not her welfare alone but her existence. The argument, however, that China should and will go and do likewise does not apply. In the first place, there is no such sense of honorable antiquity, of long acknowledged supremacy over neighbors in Japan as in China. In the second, the Japanese make no pretence of having originated their civilization and, therefore, do not consider themselves under divinely imposed bonds to transmit their culture to their descendants unchanged and undefiled to the end of time, as is the case in China. Again, Japan has always been more autocratically governed than China. Her people, nurtured until yesterday in the stern school of feudalism, have been accustomed to yield their nobles an unquestioned submission unknown in democratic China. There has ever been a sense of mutual relationship, a community of interest between liege lord and retainer in the island empire, which exists nowhere on the adjoining continent. The revolution in Japan developed from no spontaneous sense of need on the part of a people yearning for larger liberties; it was ordered from above on command of a handful of daimios supported by a virile and intelligent aristocracy of samurai.

Thus Japan was saved from European attack because of the concentration of her polity in the hands of a highly intelligent minority accustomed to implicit obedience, and because of the military propensities of the island race. The Chinese consider, a little inopportunately,

perhaps, that they have long since passed the soldier stage of society. The profession has been discredited by the Manchu Dynasty, but it has never been in the highest popular esteem, except at intervals and during great crises, since China abolished her feudal system. The Tartar Bannermen constitute the only military class now in the empire, being, however, no more martial in habit and appearance than the Chinese, whose cities they are supposed to garrison. The army proper is always primarily a gendarmerie made for peace, not for war. In case of attack volunteers are enrolled, and considering their source and quality the wonder is that they fight as well as they do. But if driven to a conviction that fighting is their only chance of salvation from national destruction there is sufficient bravery, moral and physical, among the Chinese to maintain them through years of warfare, as was abundantly shown in the Mongol and Manchu invasions. Yet, though he may be convinced of the necessity of such martial effort, in case Europe holds him by the throat, the Chinaman will deplore it all as a backward step, a return to that barbarism of past and primitive ages from which he had long tried to emancipate his people.

These facts appear to be by far the most difficult and elusive among those affecting the immediate future to impress upon the attention of a European. He sees Japan, fifty years ago, as "virgin Asiatic" as China, now completely transformed, while China, recalcitrant as ever, shows neither wisdom enough to change her ways nor strength sufficient to defend her own obstinacy. He does not understand that, in spite of defeats and the futility of her endeavors to accomplish the impossible, China has forces in reserve capable of infinitely prolonged resistance to the acceptance of those western ideas which Japan willingly receives. If pressed to desperation the Chinese can and probably will make good fighters out of their volunteers and train-bands who, if no native leader of genius is found, will follow, perhaps, some Russian general with an ambition for world conquest. The effect upon the Russian officer of such material, difficult to handle but indomitable if trained, close to his frontiers and fitted to carry out his backward and barbarous aspirations, is already palpable in the gradual shifting of Muscovite policy; it is an influence analogous to that of Jupiter upon a comet approaching the planet whose attraction is sufficient to deflect it completely from its orbit in space. But after the conquest is made and the Romanof of the future becomes emperor of Asia he will, like the Achæmenids of Persia, lose his Aryan identity; the Slav if he remains in China will become Chinese.

Such speculations carry us far afield. Though there is nothing impossible in their realization should China be goaded to the fury of

despair, it must be remembered that if able or allowed to develop in her own way fight is not her chosen method. There is, she thinks, a warfare more effective if not more destructive than that carried on by gunpowder and steel. It is the wager of racial and economic competition, not that of battle. Unfortunately for her, she has, under the repressive policy of her Manchu rulers, remained stationary during three or four generations. This is not a long period of quiescence for a staid and ancient empire, but it is within this interval that the conditions affecting national prosperity have altered more completely than in the twenty previous centuries, so that from the economic standpoint, there is a greater difference in production and labor between the years 1800 and 1900 than could have been observed by a resuscitated Hannibal visiting the first Napoleon. The Chinese are not backward beyond hope of recovery in the race of modern civilization; their danger lies chiefly in the accident that one of the periodical lapses in vigor which characterize every very long lived nation has occurred at the time when economic problems ceased to be merely national or racial and became ecumenical.

To this contest of physical endurance and grim purpose they will come, when once aroused from the lethargy that encompasses them, with nerves unshaken and with the inestimable advantage of an ancient culture that needs only a change of outer armor to be fit for the fray. Unless opium, a new vice in Eastern Asia, uses them up before its ravages can be checked, the Chinese of the coming century are likely on the whole to exhibit a better physique combined with a higher intelligence than the population of Europe taken in the aggregate. If we concede the proposition that the age of great inventions is passing, that the world is not likely in the future to change its habits and methods at the same rate as during the last century, it is apparent that the uninventive but persevering Chinese will have a chance not only to catch up with the white man but to work and trade with him at an advantage because of his superior numbers and staying power. Unless he experiences a change of heart and is willing to forget the history of the nineteenth century, our descendants are not going to receive much mercy at the hands of an awakened China dictating terms and cutting prices down to the level where all but Asiatics must starve.

But, "We measure the degree of civilization," writes one of them,¹ "not by accumulation of the means of living, but by the character and value of the life lived. Where there are no humane and stable relations, no reverence for the past, no respect even for the present, but only a

(1) *Letters from John Chinaman*, London, Brimley Johnson.

cupidinous ravishment of the future, there, we think, there is no true society." It may then be that presently we, too, shall admit that progress may be bought too dear, when our countrymen, weary of "toiling in the mill of forced and undelighted labors," will turn to Asia to learn the lesson of repose. If this ever occur, we shall find there certain things which with all our strenuous excitations we have not,—the art of graceful and independent living, freedom from artificial fashions, a true love of nature, and the wholesome influences of obedience to the parental will.

The foreigner is, however, at the present moment required for the work of industrial and intellectual regeneration, because the Chinese seems constitutionally unable to extend and apply his processes and inventions by himself. But the operation must be gradual, the education of selected agents rather than direct intervention, and above all it must be peaceable. There is very little prospect today that the Chinese will accept the leadership and control of Europeans for long, if he does at all, still less that China is to become a mine of wealth to the merchant from abroad who succeeds in entering her markets. True, there are more than three hundred millions there who need the products of our factories, but the Chinese can only get them when their taste is educated to these particular needs and when they can earn enough to pay for them. Before this occurs they will have learned how to manufacture by machinery themselves. In this event must we then fear that "yellow peril" of industrial competition in our own markets? It is not probable, for the increase of capital and industrial opportunity will raise the cost of living and the price of labor; nor are distant Asiatics likely even in the remote future to supply our changing fashions and keep up with the ever improving methods employed at home. Therein the genius of the Far East does not lie.

It has been necessary to speak disparagingly of the outward and visible influences of education in China. There are, however, two results of long training that will certainly modify the Chinaman of the future by reason of his heredity. These are his manual cleverness,—his ability to turn his hand to strange and delicate operations,—and his capacity to get a lesson, which places him in sheer power of acquisition as far above us as we are above Negroes and Indians. Exactly what a brain disciplined through a hundred consecutive generations in the fierce exercises of a Chinese school will affect, if at last given opportunity for productive thought, is yet unknown, but the possibilities seem large. There will surely be some creation of value as a development from such tuition of the mind and hand; the promise is not great in pure science or the mimetic arts, but we may yet be taught by China in problems affecting human society.

The more immediate consequences that may be expected from the development of the resources of China by modern methods become, for the most part, not difficult of arrangement if the factors already considered are understood. So far as America is concerned they seem inevitably to involve an extension of the Monroe Doctrine across the whole Pacific Ocean, as soon as we feel strong and interested enough to take that step. China is not apt to bid high for our protection, though Japan may for our alliance. When the seething of the transition time has passed and China has changed her economic conditions by providing herself with adequate means of transportation, it is probable that she will produce less food in proportion as she manufactures more goods. From this will result, first, the cultivation of a great territory now almost idle in the Amur basin and Mongolia, then the import of grain in increasing quantities from America, and a gradual rise in its value the world over. One effect of this, amid a very complex group of consequences, would probably be the removal of restrictions against Chinese immigration to this country and their establishment as the farming population in our western States.

It would be worse than ungracious, it would be disgraceful, to leave this subject without reference to the most potent of all regenerating influences that have entered China, the Christian missions. There are plenty both there and at home who see merely the failures and faults of a divinely inspired work that suffers only because entrusted to human hands. As Anson Burlingame finely said, "Missions and men may pass away, but the principles of eternal justice will stand." There is no misjudgment meaner than that of the disappointed Caucasian in the East who, foiled by the native astuteness of his intended victims in the desire after dishonest gain, turns upon the devoted missionary the venom in his spleen. Time, time, and yet more time will be needed before justice can be done and the Asiatics realize the wholesome forces set at work within their commonwealth by these emissaries of a faith loftier than any they have ever known; before that silent but supreme tribunal of the common folk, which in the long run shapes the destinies alike of all nations, appreciates the truth that their needs are spiritual rather than material; before the Chinese abandon their prejudices and the deformities of a worn out culture to become a people that will accelerate rather than retard the general upward movement of the world from savagery to the supreme.

THE LEGEND OF TRISTAN AND ISOLT

JOSEPH BÉDIER

PARIS

IN ALL the realm of legends, there is none more wonderful than the story of Tristan and Isolt. Long ago, a trouvère, dedicating it to posterity, wrote in gentle verse: "I have told this tale for those who love, and for none else. May it go down through the ages to those who are thoughtful, to those who are happy, to those who are dissatisfied, to those who are full of longings, to those who are joyful, to those who are troubled, to all lovers." More than seven centuries have passed and from the time of Gottfried von Strassburg to Wagner, the philtre of love and death has not lost its power to intoxicate the hearts of men. But, strong as is its hold upon men's hearts and dear as its theme is to the poets, the legend of Tristan is not less beautiful in the eyes of the philologist. In this rests its supreme dignity. Even as it has caused the birth of noble poems within our own times, so it has further inspired the admirable scholarly works of men like Gaston Paris, Zimmer, and Golther. Among all the problems that the legend of Tristan offers to the critic, I choose here to treat the one that is highest and most delicate: the problem of its origin and formation.

There is no lack of hypotheses and heated discussions which seek to explain in detail the mystery of its genesis and development. But there is one general opinion which all critics share indiscriminately and which dominates and overshadows their differences.

It is this: born of the "depths of Celtic thought," the legend of Tristan is not the sudden creation of one man, nor of a generation of men; centuries have collaborated in its formation. The day it crossed the confines of its own Celtic country, the type of Tristan had already passed through many avatars. Notwithstanding, what the Celts transmitted to the Germano-Roman world was not a wholly organized and determinate legend, it was simply this one central theme: Tristan and Isolt bound to one another by the power of love. There were a few *lays*, that is, short, episodic stories, independent of each other, gravitating around the principal theme as around a nucleus of crystallization. It was these lays, these short stories recited to the accompaniment of the harp, that the French jongleurs took up. At first they were content simply to repeat them, with a passive and delighted docility; soon, however,

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in their turn, they made bold to imagine analogous stories. These were the French lays, very similar to the Celtic lays, but more intricate, of varied motives, old epic or adventurous themes taken from the universal folk-lore, and according to the poet's caprice, united or disunited, bound together or separate. In the hands of these poets the legend was still a sort of indefinite and movable material whereon lay the dust of a hundred contradictory stories. Later, they sought to collect these incongruous lays, to bind them into consecutive narratives, but without success; it was at this time that they united the two oldest of these *romances*, those of Béroul and Eilhart, under the title of the "Version des Jongleurs,"—a name which in itself implies that the legend, given up to the nomadic poets, retained the alluring freedom and uncertainty of their life, and that their poems were only large aggregates of related pieces, or, to use the word universally adopted,—*compilations*. And when at length the more thoughtful poets of the court, Thomas and Gottfried von Strassburg, endeavored to introduce in them more order, their effort met with only a partial success; beneath their jointures and their paintings over, beneath the wholly superficial homogeneity of their works, there is still betrayed the incoherence of the amalgamated stories.

Every one recognizes this theory; it is a mere application of the one formulated to account for the Homeric poems. Scholars tried to apply it likewise to the Germanic epic poems and to the French "chansons de geste." But when they sought to apply this theory to the Spanish *cantares* their efforts met with a dismal failure. Just as the French "chansons de geste" are, as some still believe, "chapelets" or "bouquets de cantalinas," so the stories of Tristan must be mere collections of lays, French and Celtic. It is doubtful, however, whether this theory as to the formation of epics and legends by simple, mechanical juxtaposition, is a key that will fit all locks.

We wish to reduce the theory to its true value and determine exactly at what point it ceases to be true in the present case. We wish to show that in order to understand the history of the legend of Tristan, we must imagine one great workman instead of this anonymous and almost unconscious activity of several generations of jongleurs, acting by fragmentary inventions and unwittingly collaborating; instead of this indefinite development of the poem from generation to generation, we must picture one sovereign hour, one moment when the man, the individual, appeared, the conscious poet, the Homer who, taking possession of the vague, amorphous formations of earlier times, destined, but for him, to oblivion, laid his law upon them, breathed into them the life of his genius, and alone, the true creator, formed them for the coming ages. We wish to show

that underlying all these poems of Tristan which have come down to us, there has been one great, single poem, from which all the others have proceeded. And if our theory prevails, our conclusions, exceeding the legend of Tristan, will themselves contain, perchance, some instruction.

I.

It has been proved that the Celts related stories of Tristan before the French. But, if we seek to discover what tales they related, we know how difficult the conditions of the problem are; it is the same with any legend whatever in the "Matière de Bretagne." Aside from a few rare allusions, in Welsh literature, to the lovers of Cornwall, the Celtic originals,—if, indeed, they were ever set down in writing,—have perished, and we have merely the French poems, or derivatives from the French poems, to go by, the oldest of which date back to the second half of the twelfth century. It is from these late texts that we must draw the archaic elements which they, perchance, may conceal. And first, something of the history of the characters in the drama may be revealed to the linguist by the different names they bear.

At the foundation of this onomastic research, and as its firm support, stands the beautiful discovery of M. Zimmer. In many Welsh texts, our hero is named *Drystan, son of Tallwch*; now, in the "Annals of Tigernach" and in the "Annals of Ulster," which contain lists of the kings who reigned from the sixth to the eighth centuries in the Pict marshlands of the present Scotland and Northumberland, figure the names of the kings *Drest, Drust*, or (the derivative form) *Drostán*, and these last named alternate with kings who are named *Talorc*. One king who reigned over the Picts from 780 to 785 was called *Drest filius Talorgen*. This name *Talorc* is found only among the Picts, just as the name of *Tallwch* is found only among the Welsh, and in those passages alone where the father of *Drystan* is referred to. Phonetically, *Drystan* is the derivative of *Drostán*, *Tallwch* of *Talorc*, and the Welsh *Drystan, son of Tallwch* is identical with the *Drostán, son of Talorc* of the Picts. If we add, with M. Ferdinand Lot, that *Loonois*, the country of Tristan, and *Morois*, the forest in which part of the action of our stories takes place, are identical with the two ancient divisions of Scotland, *Loonia* and *Moravia*, formerly occupied by the Picts, we come to these surprising conclusions: the hero, whose life, according to the French stories, is passed almost entirely in Cornwall, Wales, and Brittany, was originally a stranger to these countries; without the knowledge of our trouvères, Tristan of Loonois was originally called Drostán, son of Talorc; he was a hero

of the Picts and his legend was lived in Lothian, on the present confines of England and Scotland, and in Murray, on the plateau of the Scottish Highlands. And, as M. Gaston Paris writes, "there is something fascinating and almost touching in the thought that the soul of this vanished people, who have left us only their name and those of a few of their chiefs, with three or four words of their language, should survive even now in our souls, thanks to one of the most beautiful poetical creations of humanity."

There is nothing, however, to indicate that this Pict Tristan was already celebrated for love adventures; perhaps he was a purely epic hero and warrior. The Welsh, it seems, were the first to transfer him to their own country, to adopt him and make him the rival in love of King Marc of Cornwall, a semi-historical character of their literature. Whether the Pict Tristan was already a famous lover or whether the Welsh were the first to conceive the consummation of his heroic type through love, it was they who made him the lover of King Marc's wife and located his principal adventures in Tintagel, on the coast of Cornwall.

Many of the proper names in our stories bear witness to the activity of the Welsh; take, for instance, that minor character, the seneschal, Dinas of Lidan, whose name, misunderstood by the trouvères, means, in Welsh, the "lord of the great fortress." But there are other names which indicate that if the first stage of the legend was Pict and the second Welsh, still a third people collaborated with the Welsh: Perinis, Isolt's servant, Hoël de Carhaix, Duke of Brittany, Rivalin, the father of Tristan, Donoalen, the traitor, and many other characters in the stories, bear Breton rather than Welsh names, and we must admit that when the legend was received by the French poets, it was composed of Welsh and Armorican deposits.

Many hypotheses have been suggested to explain these facts but we shall limit ourselves here to pointing out the one that seems the most probable. From the tenth century on, the Norman and Breton aristocracy had become allied by frequent inter-marriage, till a Norman castle was more than half Breton. And from very ancient times, the Breton jongleurs had made the Armorican harp resound within these Norman castles, and by their lays, half sung and half recited, they had provoked the first awakening of the Romance imagination to the legends of Brittany. Then came the conquest of England by Duke William, and the whole Romance civilization just as it was, found itself suddenly transplanted into the castles beyond the channel. The Armorican jongleurs, who were more than half romanticized, and who lived in the service of the Norman lords, followed their patrons into their new conquest; there they

renewed their acquaintance with the Welsh tribes from whom they had been so long separated; they learned certain of their legends, recognized the relationship of these with the legends that they themselves had brought, and leavened the one with the other; it was they who acted as the agents of transmission between the Welsh and the Romance peoples.

Whatever may be the value of this hypothesis, the Celtic, Welsh, and Armorican names, which abound in our poems, prove by their very reiteration, that the Celts bequeathed to the Romance poets many legendary themes. But what were these? Are we authorized to conclude sweepingly, because of the many Celtic names, that the legend of Tristan was drawn entirely from "the Celtic soul"? In what measure, in its Welsh period, did it resemble the legend we now know? Is it not possible that the characters in our stories have only their names in common with their Celtic prototypes? Might we not imagine, for example, that, among the Welsh, Tristan, like Cuchulain, the hero of the Irish epic, may have had a legend with many variants among which his love for Isolt was merely an episode? What part did the French jongleurs play in their reception of the legend? Were they simply transposers and rhapsodists, or were they real creators?

To these questions it is scarcely necessary to say that all the researches of onomatechny cannot supply even the beginning of an answer, and we must now enter upon an entirely new field of inquiry; we must bring before us the whole tradition of mediæval poetry and sum up the Celtic elements which it has preserved, excerpting from the texts the features and the episodes which imply a civilization neither feudal nor French, and which send us back to very archaic conceptions, to the ways and customs of the Celts. This method has been applied often, and with a bold and deceitful rashness by certain critics; and, indeed, it is easy for any one, endowed with a little imagination, so to transform our French poems as to produce a Welsh romance of Tristan that will have all the coloring of the Eddas or of the Nibelungen. But the more difficult thing in trying to determine the ethnical elements of a narration is, on the contrary, to yield nothing to one's imagination. Nevertheless, when this research has once been conducted with the necessary critical scepticism, when we have eliminated many of those pretended mythical features that array Tristan sometimes as a solar god and sometimes as a Theseus, when we have set aside many bold combinations which seek to discover, on every page of the French romances, pre-Christian, pre-Romance, and Welsh survivals, there still remain a few ideas and a few episodes that are assuredly Celtic. If we group them together, we may form some idea of what the legend was at the time the Celts parted with it.

II.

At the outset, we note several features in the character of Tristan, so peculiar, so foreign, and so strangely in contrast with the knights of the "chansons de geste" or of the romances of chivalry, that we are forced to admit they were not drawn by French poets. There is, first, the fact that Tristan knows how to imitate perfectly the song of all the birds; what French poet would have imagined that of any knight? Further, he fashions and makes the bow, Arc-*Qui-ne-faut*, which always hits its object, man or beast, in the spot aimed at! Also, alone of all the epic heroes, he possesses, not a horse, but a favorite dog, loved equally with his dearest friends, and, doubtless, according to the older stories, enchanted like his bow. Let us add that King Marc (whose name, in many Celtic languages, means *horse*) hides fantastically the ears of a horse beneath his headdress, and these four features will suffice to relate Tristan and his rival with the times of barbarity, and to match them with heroes of the most authentic Welsh story, the *mabinogi* of *Kullwch and Olwen*.

There remains, also, the fact that the castle of Tintagel is a "chastel faé," which twice a year "loses itself" and disappears from mortal eyes; such is the castle of the Irish magician, Cúroi. There is also the hall of glass, suspended in the air, whither Tristan, in his feigned madness, tries to carry away Isolt; such, again, in the Irish epic, is the chamber of brilliant windows, to which Mac Oc carried Etain Echraide.

Finally, there are several scenes in the legend which we cannot explain if we attribute them to the French poets. First, there is the one in which Tristan, forbidden the sight of Isolt, hews down branches, carves them in marvelous fashion, and throws them into a stream, to warn his loved one that he is waiting for her beneath a tree that overhangs the brook; this stream flows through Isolt's very chamber and we must necessarily picture to ourselves, not a feudal castle, but a hut,—with floor of beaten earth.

There is also this scene: Tristan, separated from Isolt, takes refuge with King Arthur. To befriend his love, Arthur and Gawain and many followers, go out to hunt in a forest near Tintagel and, pretending to be lost, request King Marc to give them a night's hospitality. The latter admits them and bids all his guests lie down in the same hall where he and the queen sleep in two separate beds. But, the better to guard Isolt, the king has caused to be placed in the hall some wolf traps equipped with newly sharpened scythes. When every one is asleep, Tristan draws near in the darkness to the bed of the queen, and is cruelly cut by the scythes. He binds his wound with a bandage taken from his

hempen shirt, comes to the edge of Isolt's couch, and, vexed, tells her his disaster. What shall he do? His blood is flowing and in the morning he will be discovered. He awakens his companions who take counsel with him and Kei invents a splendid stratagem. Upon his advice, all the knights rise from their beds and, pretending to quarrel, revile each other in the darkness and fight among themselves, pell-mell, and each is careful to throw himself upon the snares and receive wounds from the sharp steel. The good Kei, faithful to his heroi-comic character, and instigator of the plot, alone tries to escape the scythes, but Gawain pushes him upon them and Kei is wounded more cruelly than the others. Then, when all are wounded and the blood is flowing on every side, Kei cries, "Does he hunt wolves in his hall that such machines are placed here? Is this the hospitality of King Marc?" What is there left for King Marc but to quiet the quarrel and excuse himself for having caused such snares to be laid? All go to sleep again, while Tristan rejoins the queen, this time without peril. In the morning, since all the guests are equally wounded, no one dreams of molesting Tristan who passes unobserved among the crowd of limping hunters.

If we attribute this scene to the Celtic period of the legend, it is not merely on account of its magnificent, light hearted barbarity. It is because it is impossible to represent it as taking place in a feudal castle. Eilhart d'Oberg, who relates it, tells us of his surprise and his embarrassment. In the twelfth century, it may well have happened that guests of distinction were lodged in the lord's own bed-chamber, but not the thirty or forty strangers that were necessarily introduced in the scene of the scythes. It must have taken place originally in the same large royal hut through which the stream forced its passage.

Let us add, as the third Celtic episode, the one given us in a Welsh triad, the sixty-third of the "*Livre Rouge*," whose archaic character has been vainly suspected: Tristan sends the swine-herd of King Marc to demand an interview with Isolt. He, himself (disguised, doubtless, in the swine-herd's rags), watches the herd until the return of his messenger. Arthur, Kei, March, and Bedwyr come up unexpectedly and (knowing his disguise) amuse themselves by trying to rob him of his beasts, first by strategy, then by violence, and lastly by larceny; but they do not succeed in getting even a single sow away from him.

These are the scenes which we may safely call Celtic. We might, perhaps, by analogy and by making our way from point to point, add a few episodes closely related or bound to these; take, for example, the scene where Marc, clinging to the branches of a tree, his bow in his hand, spies upon the lovers who have made their tryst beneath him.

Happily, by the rays of the moonlight, they see Marc's shadow reflected in the stream which flows at their feet and are careful; by clever words, they succeed in deceiving the jealous king and winning his pity. This episode follows almost necessarily that in which Tristan, in order to call Isolt, threw into this same stream the branches so wonderfully fashioned. Perhaps, since it is hard to represent it in the room of a castle, we might further retain the scene where a traitor, perched upon a window, watches an interview between the lovers. Isolt, who has seen the spy, tells Tristan in a low voice, to string his bow. He bends it, astonished, only half understanding. Isolt takes an arrow, notches it with her own hand, and looks to see if the cord be good: "Aim well, Tristan!" He takes his position, raises his head, and sees the traitor's shadow upon a curtain stretched across the room. The long arrow whistles through the air, pierces the traitor's eye, and goes through his brain.

Now, if we consider these several scenes as assuredly or very probably Celtic, what is their evident character? They are violent tales stained with blood. This swine-herd, Tristan, the wonderful archer, master of an enchanted dog and bow, this Tristan with the almost supernatural gift of being able, at his pleasure, to imitate the songs of all the birds, this Tristan of the marvelously cut branches, and among the wolf snares, this Tristan appears to us like the hero of a sort of barbaric "*Decameron*." It is a *romancero* of cynical love, at times sad, wherein we see simply a dissembling woman and her lover, famous for his mastery in all the primitive arts, duping a jealous and powerful husband. The trinity of the husband, the wife, and the lover, the lover possessing the woman by the sole supremacy of physical beauty, strength, and strategy, the tricks that they play at the risk of their life, this is what is brought before us in the several scenes which seem authentically Celtic.

Is it really this, is it these brutal, half barbaric stories, that make up what we call the legend of Tristan? What do we understand, we men of today, Romanticists, Celtists, or simple literary men, with our knowledge of the story gained either by critical, scholarly study or by simply hearing one of Wagner's operas, what do we understand when we repeat the names of the lovers of Cornwall or what did Béroutl or Gottfried von Strassburg understand, when they told their story long ago for the men of earlier times and for the men of today? What are Tristan and Isolt? They are lovers who drank a philtre and, held captive by its power, suffered the fatality of this love against their will. The bitter conflict of love and law; this is the whole of the legend.

Now, are we authorized in believing that the Celts, beside their bloody tales, invented also this central conception without which the legend

would not exist: two central figures, chained by love, but feeling upon them the pressure of the social law which subjects the vassal to his lord, and the wife to her husband, and suffering from this law in such a manner that every one of their pleasures is mingled with horror?

To begin with, we cannot feel at all certain that the invention of the love philtre is Celtic; we merely know that neither the ancient literature of Ireland, nor that of Wales, offers any example of such an enchantment. But even so, considering this negative statement to be of little value, if we admit that already in the Welsh story Tristan and Isolde had drunk a love philtre, can we believe that this enchantment had already had for the Celts the same value as for the French *trouvères*? that even among the Celts the two heroes endured their love as a fatality at once *delightful and bitter*? The following remarks would seem to contradict this.

That two rivals should contend passionately for a woman, is the most elementary of instincts. That others, spectators of the fight, should be amused or moved by it, is also primitive, belonging specifically to neither the Cymri nor the French; the men of the stone age may already have possessed the rudiments of stories analogous to that of Tristan as swineherd. But that the woman and her lover should *suffer* from this struggle and *suffer* from their very triumphs, implies a state of culture far more complex. An "epic of adultery" can take place only among a people for whom marriage is an indissoluble and formidable bond. Only those who recognize a strongly imperative, rigid, and stern social law, can build a poem on this social law hostile to love.

But, as we read the Welsh "Mabinogion," or the Irish epics, or the pictures drawn by the historians of the old Celtic civilizations, as we read especially the *corpus* of the institutions of Wales, compiled from the tenth to the twelfth century, under the title of "Les Lois de Howel le Bon," we see that the most peculiar feature of Celtic life is the fragility of the conjugal bond. No legislation has ever been more significant. Marriage remained uninfluenced by either Roman or Christian ideals. It consisted simply, without any religious sanction ever being thought of, in the surrender, at a stipulated price, of the young girl by her father, surrounded by her relatives. The rupture of this contract was a peculiarly easy thing: if the husband and wife agreed to separate, they divorced each other with no further ceremony. If only one desired to separate, the husband could repudiate his wife; if he could produce a grievance against her, for example, that of her having given another man a single kiss, he was entitled, in putting her away, to retain her dowry; if he could produce any accusation, he might still send her away when he

pleased but he must give back her dowry. In return the wife may leave her husband if she wishes, and in certain well defined cases she may retain her dowry, but only upon the condition that she gives it up, can she divorce herself without reason.

If Tristan and Isolt were purely Welsh conceptions, how, in the poems known to us, could they think and feel as their congeners had never thought or felt? By what unforeseen reversal of the natural order of things, at the very moment when passion was let loose in their hearts, overwhelming them, were they to rise to higher moral ideas, foreign to their wisest legislators? According to Welsh customs, King Marc had power over Isolt's dowry, but not over her life; she was free to leave him; why, with or without her dowry, did she not do so? Tristan did not even need to abduct her; the doors were open to her; she could go. Only, if she did, there would be no story left. King Marc might, out of tyrannic jealousy, keep possession of her and imprison her, but according to Welsh ideas her body alone would be captive; she would be bound only by an unjust physical constraint; in her heart she would feel free,—and the story as we have it would not exist. Tristan might abduct her, Marc recapture her, Tristan carry her off again,—and in all this there would be room for bloody tales such as we have just been dealing with. Tristan might take her with him to the depths of the forest of Morois; but, once they had entered there, once they had enjoyed there, even for an hour, within the hut of branches, that true life which alone is worthy of their barbaric love, then how could any power except the physical strength of their enemies ever drag them away from it? Or, in case they grew weary of living in the forest, why should not Tristan take Isolt to Ireland, where she is queen? or to his castles of Loonois, where he is king, and where he could defend her? Only, if he did so, the story would fall in pieces.

The very life of the story as we have it, lies in the fact that nowhere, in any of the known poems, does Isolt dream of leaving King Marc, nor Tristan of carrying her away. It is against their will, that, tracked and hunted, they submit to a common exile in the forest of Morois, but as soon as Tristan feels that the king's wrath is softened, his only thought is to give him back Isolt. Their love is not a restless lust, seeking to justify itself by the romantic argument of the sovereign rights of passion. Tristan is not in revolt against society, he does not repudiate the social institution, on the contrary, he respects it, he suffers on account of it, and this suffering alone imparts the beauty to his actions. He is the nephew and the adopted son of King Marc; he does not dispute the law of gratitude, he violates it and, in violating it, he suffers. He is King

Marc's vassal; he does not dispute the law of a vassal's honor, he violates it and, in violating it, he suffers. The "idea" of the legend is not that the social law is bad; in all the extant poems of the Middle Ages, it is rather that love brings face to face with the law a world of rights, not superior to the social rights, but without common measure with them, and that it creates between law and nature a struggle which God Himself must judge. The legend is founded wholly upon a social law, recognized as good, necessary, and just. It is founded upon an indissoluble marriage bond. How, then, can it have been conceived by a people who looked upon marriage as the most easily broken of ties? If, however, this is the poetical foundation and framework of the story of Tristan, we may say that the legend is not Welsh,—I mean the tragic mood of the legend.

We may go further; we may set down this proposition as an axiom: the legend of Tristan had neither beauty nor even life until the day when a romance of Tristan existed. By *romance*, we do not mean necessarily a written, completed poem, but at least an epic subject somewhat richly developed. The subject of the "Chevalier au lion," of "Érec," or of "Perceval" may be contained in three or four little lays artificially brought together. But the fundamental theme of the legend of Tristan implies something more. It implies the two lovers bound together in life and death, a permanent and manifold conflict between love and the law. So long as this conflict finds expression only in one lay, in one short story, or in a series of little, similar stories (such as the narrations of the feminine strategies by which King Marc is deceived), we may say that the legend does not yet live. It comes to life only on the day when a poet, or a generation of men, represent the development of this conflict in a series of adventures, of struggles, and of obstacles, which attend the lovers from their birth until their death; it exists only from the day when a biographical character is given to the love of Tristan and Isolt.

Now, it is contrary to all that we know of the stories of Brittany and of the modes of epic recitation among the Celts, to suppose that they ever possessed a great romance of love about Tristan. It is, however, conformable to all that we know of the poetry of either the Cymri or the Irish, to believe that they possessed and could have transmitted nothing else but lays concerning Tristan; and these were, doubtless, as we have seen, simple stories of adultery. The question, then, is this: what is there at the basis of the French poetical tradition? Lays, episodic narrations, vaguely related to one another? Or is there, indeed, a regular poem?

III.

When we approach the comparative study of the poems of Tristan, the first impressions that we receive confirm the pre-conceived theory that these *romances* are rhapsodies, or "compilations." What favors this theory is, first of all, the multiplicity of the versions: the English "Sir Tristrem," the Scandinavian Saga, the Tzech "Tristan," the poems of Gottfried von Strassburg, of Heinrich von Freyberg, of Ulrich von Tûrheim, the romances in French, German, Italian, and Spanish prose, and twenty other texts which cross and intertwine; secondly, there is the diversity of the different forms which these texts offer for every episode, the slowness of the critic to unravel the relations of these versions, the extreme complications in the method of classing them, all these points strengthening the opinion that we are face to face with an inextricable multitude of amalgamated stories, with a confused material, incompletely organized; and we are ready to believe that a vast "sea of stories" is spreading out before us. Nevertheless, according as we grow more intimate with the texts, and as we profit more and more by the philological works that have accumulated in the last thirty years, we perceive that the tradition is not nearly as rich and diverse as we had imagined, that the greater part of the versions must be eliminated entirely as translations or unimportant after products of preserved works, and we find that the whole legend of Tristan is contained in four, or perhaps five, primary versions, namely:—

1. The poem by Béroul, written in Normandy about 1160, of which we possess only a fragment of three thousand lines with a false sequel, added to it about 1200, by an unknown French jongleur.

2. The French poem, written in England about the same date, 1160, by Thomas, the *trouvère*, which has come down to us in a very mutilated condition, but whose tenor we are able to reconstruct from the various different versions of it in foreign languages.

3. The poem, composed about 1190, by Eilhart d'Oberg, vassal of Henry the Lion, Duke of Brunswick.

4. The romance in French prose, written about 1230, and later rewritten and added to indefinitely, in which, however, it is easy to find the *disjecta membra* of an archaic poem.

5. The episodical French poem of the "Folie Tristan," preserved in a manuscript at Berne, and composed in the second half of the twelfth century.

If we compare these primary versions, we see that they are made up of about sixty episodes, twenty of which appear separately, contained in one single romance, while the forty others figure in all five romances or

in three or four among them. These sixty episodes, forty of which are preserved in three, four, or five copies, embrace the whole of the legend of Tristan. Beyond them there is nothing, and what impresses us now is not the richness and the multiplicity but the dearth of these legendary themes. In order to examine these, let us, for once, cease to confine our attention exclusively to the criticism of their differences; let us make up, on the contrary, the sum of the episodes common to all and presented in the same order by at least three of the versions. We may imagine as many lost intermediary versions between these primary ones as we wish; but in any case we must find, at the common foundation of these works, one intelligent and conscious thought which first united the common themes in the following order:—

In the olden times, when King Marc reigned in Cornwall, he received at his court a young man, a stranger; this was Tristan, the son of his sister Blanche fleur, whose birth had cost his mother her life and who had grown up, an orphan, in a distant land. King Marc, in whom dwelt all nobility and goodness, loved him from the day he saw him, even before he recognized in him the son of his sister Blanche fleur: Tristan owed to King Marc all that a son can owe to his father; to the king's infinite tenderness, he replied with an equal tenderness. On the very day that he is armed as a knight, Tristan is so happy as to be able to repay to Marc something of his many benefits: Morholt, a famous knight, comes to Cornwall to claim, in the name of the King of Ireland, a shameful tribute of young men and maidens. No one dared oppose him; Tristan alone engages him in battle; he kills Morholt, leaving a fragment of his sword buried in the skull of his adversary; he has freed King Marc's land from the tribute but he is himself wounded by Morholt's poisoned wooden spear. Feeling that he is about to die, he causes himself to be laid upon a barge, and the sea carries him to Dublin, to the hands of the Queen of Ireland and her daughter Isolt; this, above all others, is the country of danger, for Isolt is Morholt's niece, but no one recognizes the murderer in Tristan, for the venom in his wound has disfigured his features, and very soon the Queen of Ireland sends him back, cured, to Cornwall. No sooner has he reached there than, at Marc's command, he sets forth again for Dublin, at the peril of his life; Marc has commissioned him to bring back Isolt, his enemy's daughter, for he wishes to make her his bride. It happened that the King of Ireland has promised to give Isolt in marriage to whoever shall deliver his country from a terrible dragon, who is devastating it. Tristan kills the dragon, and cuts out his tongue, but, poisoned by the monster's venom, he falls senseless among the grasses in a swamp. An impostor cuts off the

dragon's head and, pretending to have killed it, claims the promised reward. But Isolt has discovered Tristan in the swamp and transports him secretly to the castle where she restores him to his senses and makes him well again. One day, when he is in a bath which she has prepared for him, she notices that his sword is notched; she takes the bit of steel that she has formerly drawn from the head of Morholt and it fits exactly into the sword; she recognizes the murderer of her uncle, and grasping the huge weapon, wishes to kill Tristan while he is in the bath. He quiets her with skilful words and after confounding the impostor by producing the dragon's tongue, he reveals to the King of Ireland that he is a messenger from King Marc of Cornwall. He has won the girl both by strategy and by force and he swears upon the relics of the saints, before all the barons of Ireland and before a hundred knights of Cornwall, who are his companions, that he will conduct her loyally to her husband, King Marc.

We pass on from one scene to another; Tristan and Isolt, by mistake, drink a love philtre while at sea,—Marc weds Isolt and the latter substitutes her servant, Brangien, for herself in the king's bed, etc. * * * we may follow it in this way until the death of the lovers.) And thus we obtain a *scenario* containing three quarters of all the known episodes of the legend,—all that are essential. Now, if we look carefully at this *scenario*, we are struck by its inward logic, by the harmony of its organic structure. It is not, as the theory of the "lays" and "compilations" sought to prove, a series of episodes whose order we may arrange and rearrange, at pleasure, as we may do without injury to the stories of the knightly deeds of Gawain or Lancelot in the romances of chivalry. Rather, it is a work of the conscious creative will, in which the unity of creation is superbly shown.

This unity of creation shows itself first in what constitutes the *scenario*, the harmonious series of combinations which lead the two central figures from one vicissitude to another, according to a law of logical progression.

All the incidents of the beginning, which we have just summed up, are put together in such a way that Tristan appears to us *dependent* upon his uncle Marc (by the ties of blood, of gratitude, and of a vassal's honor) and yet he appears to us quite *independent* of him, materially, for he may, if he pleases, go back to a kingdom which is his own. These incidents tend likewise to show Tristan as *independent* of Isolt, who hates in him the murderer of Morholt, and who remains for a long time indifferent to him, until the day when the love philtre makes him as *dependent* upon her as possible. And all these incidents are so ordered

that Tristan's crime seems inexcusable in the eyes of the world and pardonable to those who know and understand.

It is a real uniformity of "preparations" which has brought into play a sort of obscure fatality weighing upon Tristan, and tending to set forth strongly the conflict of love and law. The lovers have drunk of the "vin herbé"; the action is begun. After that, many scenes are unrolled wherein the joys and torments of the two lovers are skilfully graduated. The law of progression is this: the lovers pass through many phases in which they suffer trials constantly increasing in severity; each of these phases brings in a mode of suffering unknown to the preceding period of their life, and is made more intricate with the addition of the kinds of suffering endured in all the preceding periods.

1. *Remorse.* In the first phase, their love is not suspected by any one. As yet, they suffer only from the necessity of hiding their fault (the substitution of Brangien for Isolt) and from the fear which the agitation of their hearts arouses in them (Brangien delivered over to the serfs).

2. *Remorse and public shame.* In the second phase, besides the suffering caused by betraying the king, there is added the shame of feeling that they are watched by traitors, and suspected by Marc (Tristan's dismissal from the palace, the first lies, and the scene in which Marc spies upon them, hidden in the branches of the tree).

3. *Remorse, public shame, and exile.* The king, convinced at length, has driven them both away. They live, as outlaws, in the forest. This is the culminating point of the legend, where the greatest joys of their love and their worst social miseries meet. They suffer physical pain which is added to their increasing remorse and to their growing shame at being exiled from the life of men.

4. *Remorse, public shame, exile, and separation.* Until now, they have, at least, lived near one another. But now a worse trial arises: separation. Isolt is reinstated in her queenly dignity but henceforth she will always be watched and tormented by Marc's jealousy. Tristan, alone, continues his life of exile. (Episodes of their exile, and those where Tristan, at the peril of his life, endeavors to see the queen secretly once more.)

5. *Remorse, public shame, exile, separation, and jealousy.* Tristan, tortured by the long silence of separation, ends by believing that Isolt no longer loves him. At this time, in a fit of despair, he marries another Isolt, the daughter of the Duke of Brittany. But scarcely has he wedded her when he realizes his offence and repents. Isolt the Golden-Haired learns of his marriage and now suspicion and jealousy separate them.

Thus is completed, by the most cruel torture of all, the progression of their sufferings. It is no longer their bodies merely, it is their hearts that are henceforward distant from one another. With a ceaseless, obstinate persistency, in every vile disguise, as Tristan the madman, as Tristan the pilgrim, as Tristan the leper, he comes back to the queen, at the risk of being beaten by servants or killed as a common thief. Each of these meetings, the monotony of which is intentional and powerful, does nothing but increase the torments of the two wretched lovers. And what constitutes the grandeur of these episodes where the lover returns to his beloved, suspecting her even as she suspects him, exiled again and yet again returning, is the desolate feeling of the solitude of their souls. Then, the full cup of misery drunk to the very dregs, there is but one more trial, or rather refuge, and that is,

6. *Death.*

In this plan, in this framework common to all the known versions, beautiful even in the schematic form to which we are here forced to reduce it, how can we doubt the unity of creation? It stands out clearly not only from the ingenious rigor of this *scenario*, but from the fact that the situations in it are always subordinate to the characters. Brief as is the summary we have just made, it is alone sufficient to give some idea of their consistency and strength: Tristan, knightly and loyal, bringing to his uncle the wife he might instead have robbed him of; disloyal, in spite of himself, and retaining until death his early tenderness for Marc whom he betrays; Isolt, sorrowful and strong, loving in the midst of the blood that is shed for her; Marc, more beautiful than the lovers, living solely for the love that he bears to his adopted son and then to his queen, punishing them without being able to drive them from his heart, and ending, perchance, by the very strength of his compassion, in half divining the secret of the love philtre * * * truly, some one, at some time, must have combined this plan and these characters.

It is certain, as we have said before, that this some one did have Celtic stories to work on. Further than this, it is possible, it is even infinitely probable, that he did not come directly in contact with the original Celtic stories but that he started from scattered French or English stories, more or less passive translations, more or less remodeled imitations, of the Celtic lays. But is it not possible, some one will ask, that among these varied stories he might have found one that was already enriched with moral ideas foreign to the Celts, and that this privileged story may have provided him with the tone, the key note, and the color for his work? And further, is it not possible that the beginnings of great romances in Roman or in Saxon lands may have preceded his romance

and that his may be derived from them? It is possible, certainly. Every trick of logic is permissible here; since there is not one text that can hinder your hypotheses, all are possible, and as there is none to hinder so there is none to confirm them and all are vain. Our *scenario* reveals the activity of a man who feels his responsibility as the narrator of so tremendous a romance. Had he forerunners, you ask. What matter, if these forerunners are condemned to remain purely people of our own creation? *Non sunt entia multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*. This one thing, indeed, is undisputed, that all the tradition known to us, implies this single *scenario*: there is not a poem preserved to us, that does not refer to it or adapt itself to it; not an episode nor a feature that differs from it or contradicts it. Suppose there did exist poems anterior to this archetype, what do they matter, since they have all been absorbed into this one, and have no life except in and through it? if they are for us as if they never had been? and if all the stories known to us bring us back to this one poem?

IV.

It is, indeed, the name of *poem* that we must use henceforth, rather than retain longer the ruder name of *scenario*. Let us venture to take up one of our romances, that by Bérout. Many intermediaries, perhaps, separate him from the original trouvère. Observe, however, and see if, for a long series of adventures, we are not sure of finding herein the very sub-soil, the immediate invention of one single creator.

Through the treachery of a dwarf, Tristan is surprised by King Marc almost in flagrant fault. He is bound with ropes. The circumstances are such that there is nothing, it would seem, for him but to admit his crime. He should confess it; nevertheless, he denies: "King, if there be a man in thy house, brave enough to uphold this lie that I have loved the queen with a guilty love, let him stand before me in an enclosed field." He demands judgment: the judiciary combat; he calls upon God; he relies on God to fight with him. Is this a vulgar imposture? Perhaps; yet we see that the poet feels as he does, "Tristan put his faith in God, for he believed and knew that, if a regular judgment was instituted, no one would dare to wield a weapon against him." And we see further that, in the city of Tintagel, all the wealthy middle class and the humble people feel the same way. "The king commanded that a ditch should be dug in the earth and filled with vine branches and black and white thorns torn up by the roots. At the hour of prime, a ban is cried throughout the country in order to assemble

immediately all the men of Cornwall. They come together with great noise, and there is not one who does not weep, except the dwarf of Tintagel. Then the king declares to all the people that he has had this pyre erected for his nephew and for the queen. But they all cry, 'King! this would be a crime. You must judge them first. Judgment first! and then, if so it be, punishment! But until judgment, mercy and pardon for them!'"

Is it a mere sentimental tenderness that thus makes the people of the crowd, the accomplices of the lovers? Again perhaps; but let us read further.

At the foot of the pyre, Dinas of Lidan, the king's seneschal, arises and declares, like the folk of Tintagel, that he cannot burn Tristan and Isolt without committing a crime. Dinas demands, not the pity of King Marc, but his justice; he claims the *plaid*, a remittance of hostages, the judiciary combat. The king refuses to listen to him; his anger blinds him. He orders that the fire be lighted and that some one seek the prisoners in the castle. The thorn branches blaze up, the people are silent, the king waits.

Then God Himself intervenes by miracles.

"Now listen how the Seigneur God was full of pity. He, who does not desire the death of the sinner, did not take amiss the tears and the supplications of the poor people who entreated Him for the tortured lovers. Near the road where Tristan passed, bound with cords and led by guards, on the summit of a rock stood a chapel, overlooking the sea. The wall of the apse was built close to a cliff, steep, rocky, and with pointed escarpments; in the apse, over the precipice, was a purple window, the work of a saint. Tristan says to those who are leading him: 'Sirs, see this chapel; permit me to enter it. My death is near; I will pray God that He have mercy upon me, who have so greatly sinned against Him. Sirs, the chapel has no other entrance than this * * * each one of you has his sword. You see clearly that I cannot pass out except by this door, and when I have prayed to God, I must needs give myself back into your hands.'

"The guards allow him to enter. He runs through the chapel, crosses the choir, reaches the saint's window in the apse, seizes its frame, opens it, and throws himself out. Rather this fall than death upon the pyre, before such an assembly!

"But know, seigneurs, that God gave him great mercy; the wind catches in his clothes, supports him, and sets him gently down on a large stone at the foot of the rock. The people of Cornwall still call this rock Tristan's Leap. And before the church, the guards still

waited for him. But in vain. God gave him great mercy. He flees, the sand falls in behind his footsteps. In the distance he sees the pyre, the flames crackle, the smoke rises, he flees."

Thus Tristan is delivered by a miracle from God, but Isolt is left in the hands of those who seek to torture her.

"She is led, in her turn, to the pyre. She stands upright before the flames. The crowd shriek about her, cursing the king, cursing the traitor. The tears roll down her face. She is clothed in a strait grey tunic, wherein is woven a narrow thread of gold, and a golden thread is braided in her hair that falls even to her feet. He who could see her, standing there, so beautiful, without having compassion upon her, must have the heart of a scoundrel. Ah! God! how harshly her arms are bound! Now a hundred lepers, hastening thither upon their crutches, amid the clapping of their rattles, crowd before the pyre, and Yvain, their chief, cries to the king in a piercing voice:—

"Sire, you wish to throw your wife upon this funeral pile; it is worthy justice, but too brief. This great fire will burn her quickly, this great wind will scatter her ashes too soon. And when the flames die down, her pain will be at an end. Do you wish me to teach you a worse punishment? so that she shall live, but in great dishonor, and ever seeking death? King, do you wish this?' The king replies: 'Yes, let her live, but in great dishonor, and worse than death. Whoever will teach me such punishment, I will love him the better for it.' 'Sire, I will tell you briefly then, my thought. See, I have here one hundred companions; give us Isolt and let her be common to us all! Our disease inflames our desires. Give her to your lepers, and never lady of high degree shall have come to so fearful an end. See, our rags are glued to our festering sores. She, who near thee, was pleased with richest stuffs furred with vair, with jewels, and with halls of marble, she, who enjoyed good wine, and honor, and joy, when she sees the court of thy lepers, when she must enter their hovels, then Isolt the Beautiful, Isolt the Golden-Haired will know her sin and will long for this fire of thorns.' The king listens to him, rises, and stands for a long time motionless. At length he moves towards the queen and takes her by the hand. She cries: 'In pity, Sire, burn me rather than that, burn me!' The king hands her to Yvain, who receives her, and the hundred lepers crowd about her. At the sound of their crying and yelping, every heart is wrung with pity, but Yvain is joyful; Isolt is going away and Yvain is leading her! The hideous cortège disappears beyond the city."

"But God has received her into His mercy" and as He has delivered Tristan, so He will deliver the queen. He allows Tristan, who is in

ambush with his squire, to tear her from the lepers; and the two lovers bury themselves in the forest of Morois. Then, in the presence of this double miracle, the idea is thrust upon you and you realize that, for the poet, it is not the deed which proves the crime, it is the judgment, the judgment pronounced by God Himself. But King Marc, in his wrath, does not feel so, and he lays a price upon the head of the fugitives. They wander in the depths of the wild forest, amidst great hardships, tracked like wild animals, and they scarcely dare come back at night to the lodging of the night before. They eat nothing but the flesh of deer and long for the taste of salt and of bread. Their thin faces grow pale and their garments hang in rags. They love and they do not suffer. Beneath the tall friendly trees, they lead a life "stern and hard" and delicious; but they still protest their innocence, and when Ogrin, the old hermit, whom they meet in the forest, exhorts them to repentance, they declare that God Himself holds them in His keeping. More and more we feel that the whole story is built upon a naïvely subtile conception of justice, and at the same time, also, upon the innocent duplicity of the lovers, upon their "bel mentir," Tristan perhaps counting, in case of a judiciary duel, upon his physical strength and upon his prowess to manifest his innocence.

For a long time Marc persists in his anger, but now the day is drawing near when he, in his turn, shall feel with the lovers, with the humble people of Tintagel, and with the poet, that God alone is judge of their innocence or crime.

"Seigneurs, it was upon a summer's day, in the time of the harvest, a little after Pentecost, and the birds were singing in the dew of the approaching dawn. Tristan went out from the hut, girded on his sword, prepared his bow, Arc-Qui-ne-faut, and went away alone to hunt in the woods * * * When he came back from the chase, tired with the great heat, he took the queen within his arms.

"Beloved, where have you been?" she asked.

"Chasing a deer who has tired me completely. See how the sweat runs down my limbs, I would fain lie down and sleep."

"Beneath the hut built of green branches, and strewn with fresh grasses, Isolt lies down first. Tristan throws himself beside her and lays his naked sword between their bodies. For their good fortune, they have not laid off their garments. Upon her finger, the queen wears the golden ring with beautiful emeralds that Marc gave her on the day of their betrothal; her fingers have become so thin that the ring nearly falls off. Thus they sleep, one of Tristan's arms beneath the head of his loved one and the other thrown about her beautiful body, in close

embrace ; but their lips do not touch. There is not a breath of wind stirring, and not a leaf that trembles. Through the roof of green foliage, a ray of sunlight falls upon the face of Isolt, making it to shine like ice.

“Now a forester has found a place in the wood where the grasses were crushed ; the lovers had slept there the night before, but he does not recognize the imprint of their bodies, and following the tracks, comes to their dwelling. He sees who are sleeping there, recognizes them, and flees, fearful of Tristan’s terrible awaking.”

He flees even to Tintagel, two leagues from there, and, taking the king aside, tells him how, in a hut in the forest, he has surprised the queen and Tristan, sleeping in each other’s arms.

“‘Come quickly, if you wish to wreak your vengeance.’

“‘Go and wait for me,’ replies the king, ‘on the outskirts of the forest, at the foot of the Red Cross. Do not speak to any one of what you have seen ; I will give you gold and silver, as much as you can carry away.’

“Marc causes his horse to be saddled, girds on his sword, and, without any retainers, escapes from the city. As he rides on, alone, he remembers the night when he had seized his nephew ; what tenderness Isolt the Beautiful, with the fair white face, had then shown to Tristan ! If he takes them now, he will punish these great sins, he will avenge himself upon those who have dishonored him * * * At the Red Cross he finds the forester.

“‘Go before me ; lead me straight and quickly.’

“The dark shade of the great trees envelops them. The king follows the spy. He trusts his good sword, which has formerly dealt many a noble blow. Ah ! if Tristan awakes, one of the two, and God alone knows which, will lie dead upon the ground. At length the forester whispers softly, ‘King, we draw near.’ He holds the king’s stirrup and ties the reins of the horse to the branches of a green apple tree. They approach nearer still and suddenly, in a sunlit clearing, they see the flowering hut.

“The king unties his mantle with golden strings, throws it off, and his splendid body stands free and bold. He draws his sword from its scabbard and says once more in his heart that he wishes to die if he does not kill them. The forester has followed him, and the king makes a sign for him to go back.

“He enters alone into the hut, his sword bare, and he brandishes it * * * Ah ! what sorrow if he strikes the blow ! But he sees that their lips do not touch and that a bare sword lies between them.

“‘God,’ he says to himself, ‘what do I see here ? Should I kill them ?

If they loved each other with a wicked love, they who have lived so long together in the forest, would they have placed a naked sword between them? If they loved wickedly, would they rest so purely? No, I will not kill them; it would be a great sin to strike them; and if I should awake this sleeper and one of us should die, it would be talked of for long ages, and to our great shame. But I will do something so that when they wake, they shall know that I have found them sleeping, that I did not seek their death, and that God has had mercy upon them.'

"The sunlight, filtering through the leaves, burned upon the white face of Isolt; the king took his gloves adorned with ermine. 'It was she,' he thought, 'who brought them to me not so long ago from Ireland!' He laid them among the branches, to close the hole through which the sunlight entered, then he slowly drew off the ring with the emerald stones that, in days gone by, he had given to the queen; he had to press a little upon it before he could pass it over her finger then, now her fingers were so thin that the ring came off without an effort, and in its place the king slipped the ring which Isolt had formerly brought to him. Then he took up the sword that separated the lovers; that, too, he recognized,—it had been notched in Morholt's skull,—he laid his own in its place, went out from the hut, jumped into his saddle, and said to the forester:—

"'Fly now, and save thy body, if thou canst!'

"Now Isolt had a vision in her sleep. She was beneath a rich tent in the midst of a great wood. Two lions threw themselves upon her and fought to have possession of her * * * she uttered a cry and awoke * * * the gloves adorned with white ermine fell upon her breast. At her cry, Tristan jumped to his feet, sought to pick up his sword, and recognized that of the king by its golden handle. And the queen sees upon her finger the ring she had given Marc."

During this scene, at the time the bare sword met his glance, what passed in Marc's heart? As before, the night when he had surprised the lovers, he had received indications of their crime, but not proofs; just as they had appealed to the judgment of God and did not dispense with it, so this bare sword was a sign of their chastity, appealing, in its turn, to a regular judgment. Did Marc, at this moment, admit as possible, their innocence? or rather, making himself in his turn the accomplice of their duplicity, in the tender weakness of his heart and in order to take back the queen, did he only pretend to believe in it? We do not know, but this glove that he left amid the branches of the hut is the sign that henceforth he, too, shares the idea of the lovers and of the poet: he is ready, not to pardon, but to judge.

It is judgment, indeed, not pardon, that Tristan ceaselessly demands. In a letter which he dictates to Ogrin, the hermit, and which is addressed to the king, he repeats that he has not loved Isolt with a guilty love, that he was forced and constrained to carry her away into the forest in order to save her life, that God has manifested his innocence by two miracles, and that he is ready to uphold what he says against any comer in judiciary battle. Marc, indeed, organizes the judgment. At the White Lands, Tristan solemnly presents himself for combat. There is no champion found to uphold the accusation, either because every one recognizes the protection of God visibly extended to Tristan and the queen, or because the barons, fearing Tristan's strength and participating in their turn in the "bel mentir" of the lovers, pretend to believe them innocent. From that time on, Tristan is not pardoned, but justified. For want of an accuser he is absolved, and Marc is juridically at peace with himself and his barons; he may take back the queen and his love is an accomplice of his justice.

Is it not true that all this long series of adventures is entirely built upon very particular moral and social postulates? a very specific conception of justice? Suppose the idea were destroyed that the lovers, held by the power of the philtre, are innocent, or that they can juridically appear so, that God absolves them, that they have nothing to fear from a judgment, that the proofs of the deed stand for nothing, then in a trice, the whole romance appears ridiculous and incoherent. Marc is a mere Dandin and the admirable scene of the gloves serves only to bring out his stupid good nature. Ogrin, the venerable hermit, is only a pander; the romance itself is only a mockery of the idea upon which the men of the Middle Ages built their whole system of justice. Is it not true that all these scenes can have been invented only in feudal times, at the very moment when, the method of the judiciary duel being still in high favor, men were, nevertheless, beginning, almost unconsciously perhaps, to admit that a little strategy and strength might often help one of the champions? Is it not true that we have here something *primary*, before which there had been nothing and after which there could be nothing but a pitiful deformation? On the one hand, we cannot take these scenes and try to bring them back to a more archaic type; let any one attempt it, and see the ruin he will make! On the other hand, they cannot be made over to fit a later age, in any way whatsoever; two posterior poets, Thomas and Gottfried von Strassburg, tried to do it, the idea of the judgment of God being already for them something weak and untenable; but all this part of the story, of which they have striven hard to preserve some fragments (the betrayal by the dwarf, the life in

the forest, and the episode of the gloves), is in their versions a lamentable and ridiculous failure. All the episodes of the treason of the dwarf, the lovers being sent to the pyre, the tears of the people of Tintagel, the intervention of Dinas, the seneschal, the leap from the chapel, the scene with the lepers, the life in the forest of Morois, the rôle of Ogrin, the hermit, the scene of the gloves, Tristan's message to Marc, the assembly at the White Lands, and the surrender of the queen to the hands of Marc, all these episodes follow one another, imply one another, and mutually uphold each other; each is beautiful and luminous with the beauty and the light of all the others. They owe their existence to one common leaven, to this conception of justice which the poet sets forth and develops through them, and for whose sake alone they exist, to serve as its dramatic illustration. Each is one of the terms of a series to which the assembly of the White Lands alone gives a meaning and conclusion. It follows, then, that all these episodes, written each for the other, must have been composed at one single time by one single poet. We may suppose as many lost intermediaries as we wish between this poet and Bérout, but this part at least, the remoulders thus supposed have not dared to remould, and in it we reach the primitive.

V.

But have we not exposed ourselves to a grave objection, by having here attached so much importance to the feudal belief in the judgment of God, behind which Tristan takes shelter and which serves to give unity to the poem? "Is not this," some one may object, "an artifice or resource which indicates a *late* rather than a primitive state of the poem? is it not a sort of justification of the lovers, by a juridical trick, attempted as an *after-thought*? is it not more probably the invention of a man unfitted to understand the earlier state of the legend, in which love would not take refuge behind the law, but would find its justification in itself, in its own fatal power, and in the heavy sacrifices it imposes upon its victims?" To reply to this, we should have now to show that between this part of the poem and all the others, there are manifold relations of such sort that the apparent discordances resolve into one intimate and profound harmony, and this would be a long undertaking. All the preceding observations have led us to place at the foundation of the French and Germanic tradition, not an amorphous vulgate, made up of a mechanical assemblage of scattered narrations, but a regular poem, all the parts of which, created in relation one to another, were bound together by a strong synergy, one and complex. Nevertheless, we can-

not doubt but that some one may oppose our views, till now based principally on logical deductions, with other logical combinations. It is enough for us to have proposed here a hypothesis, born of the observation of the facts, which does not meet with any obstacles in the facts, and to have presented it favorably, perhaps, to the attention of criticism. It will remain a hypothesis, we know, so long as we shall be forced to see so dimly this archetype, of which we can give here only a suggestion to the reader.

Since the five romances upon which depend all the known texts (those by Béroul, Eilhart, Thomas, the romance in French prose, and the poem of the "Folie Tristan") all proceed from it, directly or indirectly, but independently of each other, a comparison of the differences in these five versions will allow us to restore it. By means of a philological operation the mechanism of which it would take too long to describe here, it will be reborn in all its archaic grace, more beautiful than all the romances derived from it,—the primitive poem, at once harsh and delicious, voluptuous and cruel, grave and charming, and with an extraordinary, passionate, and sorrowful exaltation. We must imagine the author of this archetype, doubtless an Anglo-Norman, as living in an early period, and his work was doubtless the venerable contemporary of the "Pèlerinage de Charlemagne" or the "Chanson de Roland." Before him there must certainly have been, in the Celtic country, scattered stories of Tristan, that gave the first impetus to his genius; but these stories would have lived obscurely and have fallen into oblivion but for him, who, alone, gave to them an unforeseen value and meaning; it was through him alone that the legend of the fatal love, stronger than law, stronger than honor, came into being and had life, and this love, being absolute, created a sort of mysterious legitimacy for itself. After him, there were only the remouldings of his poem, very beautiful, assuredly. But what do the works of Thomas and Gottfried von Strassburg represent? They are the reduction to the tone of court poetry, the transposition into the "precieux" manner, of a poem originally foreign to the "precieux" and courtly mind. Charming and exquisite as they are when they embellish and soften the inventions of the primitive poet, these remoulders are great only when they preserve them without daring to touch them. The primitive poet alone was the sovereign poet. The theory according to which a legend, slowly elaborated by thousands of poetic hearts, is the fruit of the collaboration of divers peoples and of manifold generations of bards, has, indeed, a certain romantic nobility. Yet there is another sight no less inspiring: that of a man who, by the power of his heart and of his imagination, starting

from a few legendary ideas received from outside, creates heroes that will live, creates the "geste" which is to stir the hearts of men throughout long centuries. Then, too, what matters it whether this sight be the more beautiful or not, sentimentally? It is the more beautiful, only if it is the truer.

COMMERCIALISM IN THE ARTS

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A LITTLE more than twenty years ago a few artists saw wonderful visions of things that might come to pass. Through the murky ugliness that enveloped the sanctuaries of Church, State, Commerce, and the Home, and all that they contained,—an ugliness that settled on thoroughfare and market-place like a dismal, sooty fog,—they saw the ultimate sunshine of Beauty rivaling in its glory the splendor of Attic rays, or the more modern glories of the Renaissance. For, were not the expanses broader, the wealth greater, the instruments of accomplishment more varied? They knew that the degradation of the arts had been brought about by a concomitance of circumstances which they proposed to confront and if possible overcome. The term “arts” embraced what are commonly called the “applied arts” or “arts and crafts” or the “decorative arts,” all one and the same thing, from the adornment of a salt-cellar to a monumental mural painting; from the brocading of a flowered silk to the weaving of a pictured tapestry; from the damascening of a sabre to the casting of an heroic statue. They knew that these so-called “decorative arts,” which had been differentiated from art pure and comprehensive either of Classic, Mediæval, or Renaissance days, had received their quietus from this very differentiation through the malign influence of guilds and academies,—trades’ unions, if you will,—and that they were degraded to a secondary place, yielding the first place to the easel picture, or movable statue destined, perhaps, for no fixed abode. They realized that, as a consequence, the “applied arts” had slowly but surely declined in artistic quality until they had touched their nadir within the memory of men still living.

Who were these hopeful enthusiasts? Primarily, they were atelier-bred artists trained to produce the easel picture, and aware of the conditions above set forth; who were more or less familiar with the world’s art history; who knew that the highest work even in the lowliest departments had been accomplished by men endowed with the keenest sensibilities to beauty and with hands coequal with their taste. They harked back to the days of the Italian *bottega*, or workshop. They saw in the far perspective of the years, but with a clarity of vision that is the prerogative of the highly sensitive, the Robbias, Donatellos, Verrocchios, Ghirlandajos, Cellinis, and the whole galaxy of those wonderful artist-artisans (on whose output our uncreative world is living today), producing count-

less chefs-d'œuvre, from their bonnet buckles or marriage chests, to their equestrian Colleoni, Gattamelatas, Novella frescoes, or Sistine epics. They saw, too, the unique Raphael painting his first tender Madonnas, or a church banner, then portraits and Florentine Holy Families, and later the incomparable mural frescoes of the Stanze, nor yet ignoring designs for mosaics, tapestries, platters, and even perfume vases. Last of all, they saw him architect, the author of the Loggia, admirable in scale, color, invention, and entirely satisfactory to churchmen, laymen, and artists. Has the world ever paused to think what a loss architecture sustained in the premature death of Raphael? According to the historians and poets painting is his chief mourner. Rather should it be architecture and all that architecture implies. It is to be doubted that had his life been spared painting would have occupied more than a secondary place in his thoughts except through the instrumentality of his disciples. It would seem as though his artistic feeling was seeking expression through the wider channels of the builder's art: not the builder as he is commonly understood, but one competent to found, erect, roof, adorn,—adorn with paintings if need be, with sculpture, mosaic, glass, tapestry, carven wood, and all manner of precious material, but material metamorphosed by the craftsman's hand. Had Raphael lived it seems as though he would have erected buildings unparagoned in the ages.

Such an hypothesis is not unreasonable when we take into consideration the charming architectural fancies that held the background of his earlier paintings to the later sumptuous structural forms of his Vatican frescoes; his tutelage under Bramante; his coöperation with Fra Giocondo and San Gallo; his study of Vitruvius and the ruins of Rome; and finally his actual achievements in this new departure,—unless he had yielded to the sin that besets some of our own most gifted architects, and attempted too much and worked too vicariously.

These few artists harked back to Raphael and to those of his kind as types, ideal types, to be imitated in their universality as far as modern conditions might permit, for they aimed if not actually to build, themselves, at least to acquire an æsthetic knowledge of architecture,—the value of its solids and voids, where to emphasize structure, and where purely to adorn. Thus if the interest of the architect could be aroused (who was no longer either painter or sculptor) a happy coöperation might ensue which would extricate the arts of decoration from the quagmire in which they seem to be hopelessly involved, and even react favorably on architecture itself. And such an interest was aroused at that time in a few quick-witted, sympathetic architects. The intercourse between these few

decorators and equally few architects was cordial and equal, equal, because the architect quite as frequently visited the studio of the artist as the latter the office of the architect. The deference, or a lack of it, was mutual; the architect *requested*, the artist granted, or vice versa. The mutual performance may not, perhaps, have always been commensurate with the expectation, but in memory, at least, it was interesting, personal, and promising if the conditions were to be continued. But this was not to be. For shortly there loomed the black, destroying demon of Commercialism, against which all resistance seems futile, certainly the resistance of the sensitive, retiring, creative men whom the world has pleased to call artists.

The laws that govern art are dissimilar to those that rule the marketplace. Indeed, they may be said to be the antipodes. Coöperation on an extended scale; suppression of individualism; great sales and small profits; wide and blatant advertisements; a conspicuous, ornate, and often inappropriate "plant"; a legion of well drilled canvassers; a promise greater than the performance, all are part and parcel of the modern commercial scheme. Art, on the contrary, is an individual calling,—the more intensely individual the better. The trinity of the arts, united in one personality is the ideal,—the sculptor, painter, architect all in one,—a Michel Angelo, for example, or a Raphael. This triune concentration, for reasons that cannot be stated here, is very difficult of realization today, if not impossible; but the close and sympathetic fellowship of architect, sculptor, and painter comes very near to it. Rob art of its individuality and you leave it a mere brittle, colorless husk. In fact, you have no art, only sere and arid reminiscence. In commerce the rule is large sales with small profits; in art small sales and fairly large profits; in commerce an apparent, ostentatious outfit; in art an inconspicuous, often shabby workshop; in commerce trumpeting canvassers and announcements; in art a becoming modesty, unwillingness to foist the unworthy on a credulous public, a painful sense of insufficiency; and lastly, in commerce something akin to the lie; in art the yearning for the truth.

These antithetical periods are not merely empty, splenetic words. They can each and all be substantiated by proven illustration. Let us suppose that an important decorative work is contemplated. The decorative artist, either alone, or in coöperation with an architect, proposes a scheme which seems to meet with the approbation of the client, and all is about to progress satisfactorily when some one, with the trade instinct, some one not quite an artist, a shrewd ex-foreman, perhaps, or ex-salesman, with no faculty for design, no feeling for art,—but with a grammar

of ornament and reproductions from the old masters on his shelf,—appears on the scene, saying to the client, “I can do this work *cheaper* and better,” at the same time showing a specious sketch that he might not be able to execute in the large. And be it observed parenthetically, that the master’s work is a progression from his first rude scrawl, often unintelligible to the client, to the completed work, whereas with the mere mechanic or tradesman the work is almost sure to be an artistic retrogression from the first taking sketch to the end. When the client, if he be the average business man familiar with the rigid laws of trade, hears the magic word “cheaper” and sees the facile, gratuitous sketch, can it be wondered that he unceremoniously dispenses with the services of the artist? Again, let us suppose that this contemplated decorative undertaking be a monumental figure piece in stained glass,—*American* stained glass, which alone owes its preëminence to the brain and hand of the artist. There is probably no branch of the applied arts that compels a closer, more consecutive supervision of the thoroughly equipped painter than this of our national stained glass. It claims his attention from the earliest vision of the window till its final gleaming fulfillment. He must not only trace his first thought on paper; purify and enlarge it in the cartoon; select his glass; be familiar with the dichromatic qualities of the medium according to its light exposure; but from first to last he must *think in the material*. Even a sketch, or cartoon, traced and colored by an artist of talent may be ruined in execution if entrusted to mechanical hands without constant superintendence. How much more so if the whole work be undertaken by a mere artisan. Yet this is what actually came to pass after the dawn of promise. Companies were formed later and are still forming with all the appurtenances of trade,—the gifted, unscrupulous canvasser, the free sketch, the sumptuous ware-rooms, the insidious advertisement, the “special and unique opportunities” oftentimes under the frank caption of “Dealers in Art,” but oftener under a more seductive caption such as the “Coöperative Brotherhood of Artists,” “The Fifth Avenue Studios,” “The National Arts and Crafts,”—all philanthropic, and, of course, all equally commercial.

How few understand the awful, fateful significance of the “free sketch,”—or, as the bland circulars of the commercial firms express it, “Sketches and estimates cheerfully submitted”! How few realize that this means death to the artist who is from mere desperation too often forced into compliance,—though none realize it more keenly than the decorative firms to whom the death of the competing artist is a fragrance in their nostrils. Free sketches? Of course they can supply them ad infinitum; if they are good business houses they *ought* to. That would

be an unshrewd business man, indeed, who would not throttle his rival, much less an insignificant artist. But the artist? Suppose he should enter the speculative field,—for it is little less than a speculation,—suppose he should devote a twelve month to a dozen or two of sketches and not win one? Where, then, would be the ways and means to pay his exorbitant rent and daily bread and butter? If the benevolent art firm lose a score or so of competitions it matters little, for there are always lambs from some woolly outpost, or some city fatlings to be sheared. The “gifted canvasser”? He, indeed, is the triumphant conception of fertile commerce. Fancy his eloquent pertinacity, his compelling appreciation of his own wares, his derogatory innuendoes against his neighbors, his mean insinuations concerning the artist’s business incapacity,—all of which is his “metier,”—and then fancy his confrontal with the self-distrustful, sensitive, retiring artist! the latter’s modest “I will try,” “I hope it will succeed,”—in fact, his lawful timidities,—with the former’s cocksureness, his greatest on-earthisms, “our special facilities,” “our enormous business,” “our work for this railroad magnate,” or that “bishop” (the clergy ought to know better). Why, the situation is laughable, except, perhaps, in the eyes of a very few wise and gifted ones who are informed with the sure instincts of art, and who understand that her ways are not trade’s ways.

The “proposals” that are daily issued by church committees, governmental committees, business committees, individuals, and, be it said with regret, by some architects, would in themselves corroborate the truth of what has been written were no other evidence forthcoming. Here is a sample,—the personalities being veiled by fictitious names,—and a sample of the saner sort, be it said. It is given because it is of very recent date:—

Office of Phineas Loring, Architect,
St. Michael’s Building, Pallas, Ill.,
December 15, 1903.

Robert Tewkesbury, Esq., Stained Glass Artist,

Dear Sir:—

I have a council chamber requiring six stained glass lights about 8 ft. x 3 ft. 6 in. The background to be in Georgian (or suitable) ornament, and to contain portraits of eminent patriots. Please send sketches with estimates for the six. Address to the City Hall Building Committee of this town, and oblige.

Yours very truly,

Phineas Loring.

P. S. The color of these windows is to be deep and rich.

On inquiry it is ascertained that a similar letter has been sent to more than a dozen stained glass firms. Then Mr. Tewkesbury, being an artist with no other equipment than his studio, glass room, kiln, and one or two competent workmen to render his ideas under his eye (anything but a brave show), replies in the following letter, which the receipt of many similar communications has warranted him to have printed:—

New York, January 2, 1904.

Phineas Loring, Esq., Architect,

Dear Sir:—

In answer to your favor soliciting a design with estimates for stained glass, permit me to state that I cannot furnish designs without remuneration, unless the final work is entrusted to me, in which case it will be my earnest endeavor to meet your requirements. A large number of designs and many samples of leaded glass are to be found in my studio, and they will be shown to you with pleasure. Or, if distance permits, a competent person will call on you with an appropriate selection from the former. I can also indicate to you the buildings in which specimens of my art may be found, or can refer you to periodicals wherein a few of them have been published. You will doubtless agree with me that personal, artistic work cannot be executed *gratis* either with dignity or profit.

Thanking you for your communication, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Robert Tewkesbury.

Of course that is the end of the matter.

Such a condition of things is very different from that described in the opening of this article when the artist and architect were, so to speak, co-campaigners. No architect then would have addressed to an artist of repute a letter of the character above cited. There are a few who would not today,—artists themselves in a noble profession; yet they are a diminishing minority. In most cases the decorative artist must line up with the other contractors and wait his turn with the bidder for bricks, plastering, iron work, plumbing, etc.,—and oh, how it hurts! The more æsthetically sensitive, the greater the pain! And when at length the artist's soul rebels, and refuses to range with the ante-room hangers-on eager to do "good business," then he bids good-bye to all hope of employment.

What has brought about this degrading change? There are many, many reasons,—too many to be recorded here,—but chiefly, the contract system derived from commerce, and consequently the estimate system as

applied to art. It is easier for the great architect (the small ones have few large decorative orders to place) to sit in his office, and listen to applicants and examine their figures and sketches than to sketch and figure for himself, or to visit an artist's studio. To visit an artist's studio? Why! the great man has not the time. He has millions of dollars' worth of work on hand! That would be too much to ask! And yet the architect is not to blame except in so far as he craves ease, or social distinction,—but of this not here. The commercial conditions make him what he is. If a score of contractors for any particular line of work besiege him, what else can he do than sit in his fastness and listen to their respective urgent proposals. If a dozen decorative firms crave the privilege of submitting designs with estimates, is it to be expected that he will consult an artist whom he often looks upon as a dilatory, unpractical sort of fellow? Of course not, unless he be a very exceptional man. The real fault lies with the system, and with the decorators themselves who are unwilling to stand up against commercial competition and have abdicated their artistic privileges,—if they ever had any,—and who in many cases have “gone into art” as they would have gone onto the “street,” or into “glue” or a “patent medicine.”

It is the function of him who would study the conditions prompting man's activities, and who would deduce therefrom their lesson, to note increasing tendencies rather than to harp on lessening exceptions; for no doubt there are exceptions to the facts here signalized; but, unfortunately, these honorable instances are on the wane, while the commercial current is waxing in breadth and volume. What the ultimate issue may be, who shall say? Who can predict with certainty our political or social status? The artistic is even more complex. Every social, every political reformer, bases his hopes on a wide and beneficent education, so does he who looks for an ultimate and legitimate enthronement of the arts. There is no other cure in sight, and even that seems to be dimmed by the mist of intervening years.

Let us again return to the decorative artists as they were pictured in the opening paragraph, fresh from their prefatory studies at home and abroad, with the dew of hope in their young hearts, and working coöperatively with an intelligent, sympathetic architect,—let us return to them and follow their career, for it is by actual experience, and experience only, that we can make trustworthy generalizations. We have seen them in the first flush of artistic youth trying the most interesting experiments,—not reproducing the shop-worn stuff of the world,—making their studies from animate and inanimate nature; gathering stores of fresh motives from the fields, the forests, and the hills; noting the spring-

time's tender blossoms and the ruddy hues of autumn and the intervening lushness of summer, or the fine articulations of wrist and ankle, the gracile curvature of a neck or torse, or the splendors of the white flesh,—all these garnered beauties we have seen them manipulate and turn to account under the approving and perhaps correcting eye of the architect. To say that the result was satisfactory,—entirely satisfactory,—would be to overstate the case; but it was always interesting, personal, and full of a rich promise. And when these precursors were consternated by the “I will do it better and cheaper” of the commercial men, what means did they take to protect themselves? Hitherto they had worked unostentatiously in their ateliers, relying exclusively on an intelligent patronage. Now things were changing.

The writer will ever remember the cold, bald words addressed to him in his early unsophisticated days by the commercial member of one of these newly organized decorative firms: “Come into our concern. By doing a larger business we can produce more cheaply than you can. If you do not, we shall drive you out of the business.” And was this beautiful art of decoration then to be a business? Yes, it was. What, then, was to be done by the artist without loss of self-respect? Solicitous friends advised a business partner and more businesslike ways, something “genteel,” to use an old-fashioned word,—something that should be less flamboyant than the avowedly business concern. A modest advertisement or two in reputable journals. This advice was followed reluctantly in some instances, and with what result? With the inevitable result. The gradual compromise of artistic integrity to commercial exigencies, or rather to commercial unscrupulousness. What chance has the small dealer in anything,—in groceries, for example,—with the mammoth combinations of capital? Either he must adulterate, or sell stale stuff, or go under. We may procure our food-stuffs at a lower price, by the more recent methods, yet many believe that there is deterioration in quality. But in art there is no question whatever as to the deterioration. The sacrifice of conscious inventive quality to meet “cut rates” means artistic extinction. A great output implies small pains, improved machinery and appliances only beacon the approaching end. Machinery in art can do nothing but multiply, and the multiplication of an idea should be avoided. Vulgarization connotes loss of distinction. Not only is the vulgarization itself undistinguished, but the model or prototype is miserably tainted. Is the star of the morning so beautiful that we would see the whole dome of the sky thick-studded with myriad morning stars? Or would we see at close of day the whole circumference of the horizon girdled with reddening disks? Such phenomena might be startling, but

where would be the lovely, lonely regency of the pale star on its wide vacant field of matin gray? or the lengthening blue shadows on the gilded meadows, as the unique sun sailed behind the hills? Do we love the Venus of Milo better for seeing her degraded reproductions used as advertising media, or Raphael's Madonnas the more for their shocking multiplicity? On the contrary, our love cools. Any invention that abrogates or diminishes the artist's personality is coincident with the loss of artistic quality. The implements of art are now much as they were in the days of the masters. The invention of the collapsible color tube has certainly been a great convenience, especially to the landscape painter,—but a convenience only. The frescoist or mural painter may use no tubes at all. No great gain to art is, or can be, expected from this quarter. Couture used to say to the writer, "If you are in prison and have nothing but a white wall and a bit of charcoal wherewith to make a picture and cannot, you are no artist; if you have nothing but a rag as a model and cannot compose drapery, you are not an artist." He was right.

To stem the tide of commercialism, to make a braver fight against triumphant mercantile art than any man could make single handed, combinations of artists, or people with artistic instincts, have from time to time been formed, variously called "Decorative Art Studios," "Associated Artists," "Artist Artisans," "Arts and Crafts." But their lives have been short as artistic aggregations, for, however honest the intention may have been at their inception, they have been forced either to adopt the commercial methods or perish. To find continuous work for skilled hands, there must be orders and sales. To insure orders and sales, there must be salesmen, show-rooms, advertisements, and gradually, but unrelentingly, all the apparatus of a business house. In default of sales and with accumulation of stock, prices must be lowered or hands laid off, just as in the industrial market. Herein the solitary decorative artist has an advantage, for, assuming that he is a trained professional, he can, in the lapses of orders,—even though the intermission be unwelcome and discouraging,—occupy himself with landscape, if he have the taste for it, or portrait painting, or illustrating, and even teaching. But the collective artists must dissolve partnership.

Some of the readers of these words can doubtless testify from their observation to the rapidity with which many a "decorative art society" has degenerated from its original high standard and purpose into a mere bazaar. Theoretically, these well-meaning societies,—incorporated primarily to foster good household art, or to help the needy but artistic poor,—should flourish. And so they would, and so would the single

decorative artist were he or they backed by philanthropy, or by an appreciative, educated public capable of discrimination. So would flourish our ideal, first-class newspaper, offensive neither to the intellect, the eye, nor the conscience, were it subsidized by the intelligence and capital of a refined millionaire, or patronized by a sufficiency of discriminating readers; but at present we are not likely to be favored with such a sheet because newspapers must be made to *pay*. To use a well known political locution, neither proprietor, nor editor, nor reporter is "there for his health." 'Tis the same with these well-intentioned, uncommercial decorative combinations. They count on a public far below the assumed artistic intelligence,—a public imbued in commercial methods; worshipping commercial success; whose ideals are those of the market-place; and who are entirely ignorant of the everlasting truth that the means employed to climb the commercial ladder are exactly those that lead easily to artistic perdition.

There is probably no city in the world where the conscientious artist meets his commercial antagonist on more unfavorable terms than in this great city of New York; and the artist is doubtless at a disadvantage in all the great cities in this country, though the writer cannot vouch for these latter. In the first place, he is living in an atmosphere of trade, where trade is the goal, and where success is blazoned by its obvious trappings. His unostentatious ways are misunderstood, often despised. Unless he have a commanding personality, he is more or less of an alien. Rents are exorbitantly high. To the decorative man floor space and height of ceiling are prime necessities if, as usually happens, and as he hopes, a great monumental work is to be undertaken. This large room is for a studio. Another large room, or rooms, is needed for his aids, and to show his achievements. But prices, some one may remark, are correspondingly high. Such, however, is not the fact. So fierce has been this miserable commercial competition in art, and so indiscriminating the public in its patronage, that in many cases the prices are much below those of the corresponding work abroad, where an artist can live for a third of the cost. Many an artist has come to the conclusion that New York is no place for him, and has built his studio in the country. Unfortunately, for a great part of the year the decorative artist must be in the city, or maintain close relations with it. If this be true of the solitary artist, how much more is it true of the associated artists who need larger space, which they must take in some undesirable side street, and there are soon lost. For the gauds of the Avenue will always triumph!

There is a general impression, not well founded, that the decorative

artist is unbusinesslike. If businesslike means the exploitation of all the business machinery heretofore alluded to, then he must, indeed, be rated unbusinesslike. But if to be businesslike means the prompt fulfillment of his engagements, there seems to be no evidence that he is more delinquent than others. The writer lays no particular claim to virtue, but his own experience has been that the delay caused in the occupancy of a building in which he was necessarily the last co-worker, has invariably been caused by the dilatoriness of his predecessors,—the plasterers, iron workers, cabinet workers, and so on. Many a time he has been obliged unprofitably to wait till these predecessors completed their stipulated work. Other artists could doubtless offer similar testimony.

The tone of this article may seem lugubrious. Yes, it is. But we are not altogether without hope. Had we no hope, these lines never would have been written. They are offered here because it is always wiser squarely to face the truth, to see things as they are. They bear testimony to a personal experience and observation over a long lapse of time. Others may bear different testimony. Certainly we feel it to be our duty to sound this note of warning to inexperienced dreamers of dreams. The change may come in their lifetime, or it may not, who shall say? Again and again we have been solicited for work, or asked for advice, by young and well equipped artists, and to our mortification we have counseled them to seek employment in a “decorative house” *if they must* pursue the decorative calling, and need the emoluments of *steady* work. For, have we not seen, and do we not still see, many veteran, able decorative artists, well trained by precept and practice, artists who are too sensitive to solicit work, driven into idleness by these same hell-born “decorative houses” which take the name of our Muse in vain, treating her as though she were the guardian goddess of the shoe-mart or of the oil-guild? Such sufferers are uncomplaining, dignified, self-respecting men, disappointed in their true vocation, yet unwilling to accept the easement of the art-dealer’s wage! Well,—we respect them. Yet it pains to think how much they could and should contribute to the beauty of life, that prefers to deck itself with threadbare ideas, inferior imitations, and bric-a-brac real or counterfeit.

MILTON AS ROMANCER: "NOVA SOLYMA"

RICHARD GARNETT

LONDON

ORGANICALLY Miltonic! Such was the imposing phrase applied by a critic of some repute in his day to the pretty little poem discovered by Professor Henry Morley upon the fly-leaf of a copy of Milton's early poems in the King's Library at the British Museum, and, partly on the strength of inscribed initials doubtfully read as J. M., too hastily assumed by him to be the composition and autograph of Milton himself. Aristarchus eyed the volume, lifted it, handled it, smelt it, did everything with it but read it, and laid it down with the above mentioned dictum, which somehow did not produce the effect of a Pythagorean's *ipse dixit* upon the auditors.

We are by no means giving this historiette with the view of throwing discredit upon Mr. Begley's theory of the Miltonic authorship of the anonymous Latin romance, printed in 1645, and now existing in his own half dozen copies, which he has so fortunately discovered. To this, as will be seen, we are half disposed to assent. It will, however, be useful to remark that, although the phrase "organically Miltonic" appeared tumid and bombastic in the mouth from whence it proceeded, nevertheless, it conveniently expressed the highest degree of internal testimony to which appeal can be made in determining the authorship of any unacknowledged literary work. It means that, collated with the undoubted production of the assumed author, this appears a branch from the stem, alike in its aspect and its law of growth, its leafage and its fruitage. If, for example, the lines "At a Solemn Music" were now to come to light for the first time, they would be admitted at once as "organically Miltonic." There would be no more doubt in the mind of any reader that they came from Milton's pen than that an apple came from an apple tree; it is even doubtful whether a conclusion so evident to the eye of the mind could be overthrown by the strongest external evidence. This assurance is wanting to "Nova Solyma." If a dozen other critics had read it simultaneously with Mr. Begley it is not likely that one of them would have hit upon the Miltonic authorship. This,—while most flattering to

(1) *Nova Solyma; the Ideal City; or, Jerusalem Regained.* An anonymous romance written in the time of Charles I., now first drawn from obscurity, and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With introduction, translation, literary essays, and a bibliography, by the Rev. Walter Begley, 2 vols., London, Murray.

Mr. Begley's acumen if he is right and to his ingenuity if he is wrong,—manifests that the Miltonic authorship of "Nova Solyma" cannot stand in the first rank of certainties. If it is Miltonic, it is not "organically Miltonic." It is not an emanation of Milton's innermost being, for that would have declared itself in a manner commanding conviction. Yet it may have been traced by Milton's pen, and may embody many of Milton's ideas. To prove even so much, we must desert the imperious style of argument which would avail if we had to prove that "Paradise Regained" was the work of an imitator. Incapable of carrying the reader's assent by storm, the Miltonic advocate must follow the method of the three brothers in the "Tale of a Tub," who, unable to find an injunction in their father's will to wear shoulder knots, try to construct one out of words detached from the context, then out of syllables, and finally come down to letters. In the same manner "Nova Solyma" cannot be admitted among Milton's works as the Pope is sometimes elected, by acclamation. The heights of fame in its case are not to be carried by a "coup de main." It is not in the position of those persons and things which have but to display themselves to be recognized at once for what they are. The case for it, if established at all, must be laboriously worked out by the production of a number of small circumstances, all tending in the same direction, as a mosaic picture is pieced together from a number of separate morsels, not as a bronze statue is cast at a jet:—

"Little signs, like little stars,
Whose faint impression on the sense
The very looking straight at mars,
Or only seen by confluence."

Singly, such tokens may be insignificant; united, they may be irresistible. But there can be no question of the "organically Miltonic." We need here, to quote Martineau's words in a different connection, "the cautious catena with its well linked chain of testimonies," and we may not "cross the gulf upon the wing of inference." Such prudent engineering needs a skilful engineer, and, at whatever conclusion the inquirer may arrive, he must feel most thankful for having been able to study under the guidance of Mr. Begley. The investigation requires wide and various learning of a description unusual at the present day; a thorough knowledge not merely of Milton's English but of his Latin works; a general sympathy with the spirit of the age in which "Nova Solyma" was composed; above all, perhaps, a profound acquaintance with the peculiar class of social Utopias and allusive politico-theological romances to which it belongs. All this and much more Mr. Begley possesses, and

we should applaud the kind fortune which brought the book to his hands if it were not rather his special qualifications which brought him to the book. Few devoid of these qualifications would have cared to acquire even so great a bibliographical curiosity as "Nova Solyma"; fewer still would have disturbed the rarity once placed upon the shelf; fewest of all would have gone through the book with any suspicion of the Miltonic authorship, a theory which, nevertheless, once propounded, must be acknowledged to be well worthy of discussion, decide the problem ultimately as we may. Mr. Begley's various learning has enabled him to adorn his theme with a number of most interesting excursions, while he has shown himself an accomplished translator, not only of the prose text of his original, but of such of the numerous inserted poems as he has attempted. Indeed, there is reason in the remark of an English reviewer that his versions are even too good, for, steeped in Miltonic harmonies, he has reproduced these where they would be vainly sought in the original.

It will be necessary to give some account of the work, remarkable in every point of view, for which a place is claimed in the Miltonic firmament, even though, compared with "Paradise Lost," it seem

"In bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon."

"Nova Solyma" belongs rather to the class of Utopias than to the political satires in romantic dress of which the Utopian romance is a development. These, since they require the combination of an advanced stage of literary culture together with the prevalence of a jealous despotism, might well have existed under the Roman empire, but it may be difficult to trace them higher than the "Egyptian" of Synesius at the end of the fourth century, where a good and a wicked minister are personified under the figures of Osiris and Typhon, the beneficent and maleficent deities of Egyptian mythology. Similar satires, which merit more attention than they have received, continued to appear under the Byzantine emperors, and it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that More, probably inspired by Plato's "Republic," conceived the idea of creating his Utopia. This imaginary community, by the comparative perfection of its institutions, was rendered rather a criticism of human civilization in general than an oblique satire upon the politics of a single country. "Nova Solyma" belongs to this class of book, influenced, also, by Barclay's "Argenis," the most remarkable instance the age afforded of the strictly political romance. Had it stood in more

intimate relation to the affairs of the time it would have been easier to divine the author; while its detachment from the concerns of a most exciting period is good evidence that its composition long preceded its publication, and thus confirms the solitary glimpse which the author allows us of himself. But for this, it would be impossible to identify him with Milton without much stronger testimonies from internal evidence than Mr. Begley's diligence and acumen have enabled him to supply. We find that the romance, by whomsoever written, was almost certainly composed at the very period of Milton's life when alone it is possible to conceive of him as producing a work of imagination uncolored by strong political feeling and animosities on public and private grounds. With this premise established, the sense of a difficulty overcome, naturally if illogically, tends to create a foreboding of Milton's possible authorship.

One admission must assuredly be made, granting that Milton condescended to the composition of a romance at all, the theme of a new Jerusalem was exactly such as might be expected to commend itself to him. He may be described with equal correctness as a Hebrew saturated with classical culture or as a classic branch grafted on a Hebrew stem. The original texture of his mind was Hebraic; the superinduced element which permeated without disintegrating it was classical. Nothing could be more natural for such a mind than to select, as the groundwork of a contemplated fiction, a theme entirely scriptural in its origin, associations, and ethics, yet adorned with whatever profane learning and culture could contribute to opulence of illustration and elegance of form. Such a work is "Paradise Lost" itself, Hebraic in matter, classical in style. The question whether "Nova Solyma" is such a work as a Milton intent upon romance was likely to have planned, may be determined at once in Mr. Begley's favor. The more difficult question, as to whether the execution also is Miltonic, will remain for consideration; before entering upon this some account of the plot must be given.

Fifty years before the opening of the action of "Nova Solyma," the Jews, converted from their unbelief by "a sudden flash of divine light," have reestablished themselves in Palestine and built a new Jerusalem upon the old site. Nova Solyma, therefore, is by no means the city which the seer beheld descending from heaven, but an earthly city where a race of rare faculty, elected of old for a special mission, and long tried by every form of adversity, are framing a republic whose polity, and especially whose system of education, is to form an example for the rest of the earth. Such a community must evidently in no long time have become as famous as Athens and as frequented as Paris, but our romancer

does not concern himself with such considerations. Fifty years have passed before two young men, by name Politian and Eugenius, studying at Cambridge (Milton's university, be it observed), have so much as heard of it. Its fame having eventually reached their ears, they become "possessed with a mighty desire to pay it a visit." Defying parents and proctors, and "scraping together a little money," they elope and embark at Dover upon a ship which they find, by a rare chance, about to sail for Joppa. The ship touches at Palermo. There they encounter Joseph, the son of one of the principal citizens of Nova Solyma, who has left home to make the tour of Europe, but whose travels have been nipped in the bud by his having been robbed by Sicilian brigands at the very commencement of his expedition. They pay his passage home, and he acts as their guide to Nova Solyma. They arrive safely at the city, and here we find one of the chief difficulties in the way of the Miltonic authorship of the book. Milton had not only a grand imagination, but an imagination most readily fired by the contemplation of the venerable and picturesque. We know how the Saviour in "Paradise Regained," though standing on Judæan earth, is made to behold a vision of Rome, "by what strange parallax or optic skill" the poet judiciously deems it over-curious to inquire:—

"He might behold

Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,
 Washed by the southern sea, and on the north
 To equal length backed by a ridge of hills
 That screened the fruits of the earth and seats of men
 From cold Septentrion blasts : thence in the midst
 Divided by a river, off whose banks
 On each side an imperial city stood,
 With towers and temples proudly elevate
 On seven small hills, with palaces adorned,
 Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
 Statues and trophies and triumphal arcs,
 Gardens and groves."

But of the aspect of Nova Solyma the author has nothing to say but that the city had twelve gates of brass and that it stood upon the site of the old city, of which not a vestige remained. Can Milton have been thus unimpressible and unimaginative? We should have said certainly not but for the consideration, which must never be lost sight of, that he is writing Latin.

The service so opportunely rendered to the young Hebrew at Palermo introduces the travelers to hospitality in his father's house. The story

henceforth follows a double track, partly romance and partly disquisition. The former, as custom and reason enjoin, turns mainly upon the attachment of the youths for their host's daughters; but, as this is not a situation admitting of much complication, the story is spiced, not to say stuffed, with episodes much in the manner of those which embroider the "Golden Ass of Apuleius." A youth, formerly an associate of the brigands who despoiled Joseph in Sicily comes to Nova Solyma to confess and sue for forgiveness, an incident not ill imagined in so far as it enables the author to display Joseph's prowess, which he himself could only have narrated at the expense of another virtue. An unfortunate demoniac is introduced suffering from diabolical possession, consequent upon a compact which he has been beguiled into making with the Evil One. Artistically this is an excrescence upon the book, but it becomes of much interest if we can believe Milton to be the author and the details to be derived from his personal observation. The condition of the patient is not described with the force that might have been expected from even a youthful Milton. More Miltonic, as indicating a decided affinity with Comus, is the dream of a matron warning youth against the seductions of pleasure. The writer had certainly read the Comus of Erycius Puteanus, which had as certainly been read by Milton. The most important, however, of these episodes is the story of Philippina. Joseph, while in Sicily, has, through a series of most romantic adventures, gained the heart of a young damsel of noble birth, who follows him to Solyma in the disguise of a youth, and dwells near him under the name of Philander. Philippina in her disguise is as irresistible as Joseph. Antonia, her hostess, falls in love with her, and upon being repulsed prepares to poison Philippina along with herself, when a diversion is created by the arrival of messengers from Sicily in quest of the fugitive. Philippina, seeing her secret on the point of discovery, confesses it and slays herself, leaving Antonia to drink the poison. Of all the passages in "Nova Solyma" there is none more difficult to believe as proceeding from the pen of Milton. Mr. Begley successfully extenuates the awkward situation of Antonia's passion for one of her own sex by pleading the precedents of former romancers; but there are other defects which prove Milton, if he was indeed the writer, to have been utterly incompetent as a novelist. Joseph's escape from his perils in Sicily in the semblance of an Ethiopian borders upon the farcical, and the highly tragical incidents accompanying the deaths of Philippina and Antonia are related in a cold, unimpassioned manner which would compare badly with the efforts of any reporter for the press in our own day. The absurdity of the Sicilian incidents may be in some measure palliated by the consid-

eration that humor, involving a perception of the ridiculous, was at no time a strong point with Milton; the insipidity of the conclusion may be accounted for by supposing him to have become tired of his story, and much allowance must in any case be made for the probable youth and inexperience of the writer. Yet, when all is said, it must be admitted that Milton, if Milton he be, has fallen further below himself than one would have expected him to fall.

While the evidence of authorship from the professedly imaginative portions of the book is thus (until we come to the poetry) unfavorable to the theory of its Miltonic origin, this seems rather confirmed by the intermingled disquisitions in prose. This will appear to many a strange judgment, for, while composed with earnestness and even vehemence, they are far from displaying the passion and splendor of Milton's prose style. But on the other hand, it must be considered that the probable period of their composition, Miltonic or not, is one when Milton could not be expected to manifest the full force of his genius; that he is further cramped by having to think in one language and write in another; and that, even when writing English prose, he only rises to the heights of eloquence under strong excitement. Compare the strength of his first tract on "Divorce," composed under overmastering emotion, with the heaviness of its successors, and the lyrical elevation of the pamphlets written at the dawn of the Commonwealth with the pedestrian prose of his plea against its extinction in 1660. The disquisitions in "Nova Solyma" are those of a sober thinker, "sitting," like the fallen angels, "apart upon a hill retired," and investigating matters which do not personally concern him, and with no antagonists to provoke his scorn and wrath. We must also consider the much more formal and level style of discussion obtaining in the seventeenth century, when experts wrote for experts, than that which is now prevalent, when the appeal is to the general public. All this taken into account, the essays seem to us such as might reasonably have been expected from a youthful Milton, while the endeavor to prove them "organically Miltonic," were such made, would entirely fail. Any testimony in their favor must be collected from comparatively minute indications, of which Mr. Begley adduces many, upon whose consideration we shall soon enter. It may, nevertheless, be remarked that, apart from the treatment, the themes themselves are such as would especially have interested Milton, and that the opinions expressed are generally in harmony with those which he is known to have entertained. It can hardly be thought, for instance, that if Milton had been asked to write down his views on versification he would have expressed himself differently from the author of "Nova Solyma":—

"In poetry a full and complete harmony is essential, for the art acquires the most delicate handling, and along with correct diction the rhythmical felicity and position of each syllable ought to be duly pondered. No one can write poetry by rule or measure simply; a critical ear is an absolute necessity. Accent, as well as the quantity of a word, has to be taken into account. Correct metre is by no means everything; there is the happy interchange of vowels and consonants, the due length of the words employed, the cæsura were needed, all which should be fitly and musically interwoven in order to produce a true poem."

The discourse is of Latin poetry, but the precepts well describe Milton's management of English blank verse. The poems interspersed throughout "*Nova Solyma*" are the most interesting portion of it, and perhaps the strongest part of the Miltonic case, but for the time we proceed to the closing incidents of the story.

Until the end of the book almost all the incident is furnished by episodes, a vicious plan unusual in romances, and alone sufficient to indicate that the author regarded his fiction rather as a vehicle of ideas than as a work of art. At length, however, our travelers find something else to do than talk and listen, in their conflicting passion for Joseph's sister, which nearly brings on a duel, but the situation is saved by the happy discovery of a twin sister, equal in every respect to the hitherto unique object of adoration. This is certainly very like the author of "*Paradise Lost*," whose sublime appreciation of Love in the abstract, compared with his homely estimate of actual Woman, are as the divine and the mortal coursers of Platonic myth drawing the chariot of his soul. The incident elicits from the excellent Joseph a vigorous sermon against duelling, very necessary in that age, as the memoirs of Sir John Resby and similar records abundantly declare. Politian and Eugenius, however, prevented from cutting each others' throats, the story seems likely to die a natural death when it is again vitalized by the opportune return of Apollos, Joseph's tutor. After the separation brought about by the adventure with Sicilian brigands, Apollos has been opportunely transported to Plymouth, this time by means of a rencontre with pirates, and he is thus enabled to discover Angelus, the father and step-father of Politian and Eugenius, combined in one person and at that time traveling to Solyma. The pirate episode is of particular interest, as it affords the only instance of actual contact between the romance and contemporary history. It is manifestly taken from "*The Wonderful Recovery of the Exchange of Bristow from the Turkish Pirates of Argier*," a tract published in 1622, and republished in Purchas's "*Pilgrims*," 1625. Mr. Begley shows from Milton's commonplace book that he had the volume of Purchas containing

the narrative. Other particulars seem borrowed from tales of English naval daring in the works of Taylor, the water poet, which Milton is almost certain to have known.

Apollos, the namesake of so eloquent a preacher, cannot do less than deliver a discourse on the observance of the Sabbath, public worship, and other topics, which bears, as Mr. Begley shows, a most close resemblance to the views of Milton's préceptor, Young. At the same time, the denunciation of mischievous sectaries almost seems to indicate a later date than is consistent with the theory of Miltonic authorship. Meanwhile, Angelus has arrived, and having finished certain mercantile business, is about to depart in ignorance of his sons' love affairs. These come to light almost by accident, and after a little scolding, the double marriage is arranged in a matter of fact style scarcely befitting the conceptions of a poet, but much in harmony with Milton's own practice. Some suspense is yet occasioned by a spiritual malady befalling Joseph, which would be highly interesting if it could be believed to reproduce a passage from Milton's own history. Be the author he or another, however, it seems to us to lack the note of personal experience. Joseph happily recovered, the marriage takes place, fortunately coinciding with the elevation of Joseph's father, Jacob, to the highest honors of the state, and a grand final display of pageantry and poetry.

It is evident that in endeavoring to determine the authorship of "Nova Solyma," the date of its composition must be all important. Such a book could not have proceeded from the mature Milton. In this case it must have reflected his political and educational controversies, his theories on education, and, if after 1643, his views on divorce, which are contradicted in "Nova Solyma." It would probably have borne traces of his foreign travel, and of his dramatic and epic ambitions. Nor could there have been so much Latin poetry, whose composition must have required an amount of time and labor incompatible with the fierce struggles of his manhood, and bespeaking a period of lettered ease. Happily for Mr. Begley's theory there seems to be nothing in the book inconsistent with its composition in Milton's youth, saving, as we have observed, an implied prevalence of sectarianism which undoubtedly appears to fit the era of the Civil War, but which hardly can be set against the author's express declaration that his work was long anterior to 1648. To appreciate the force of this it will be desirable to state the circumstances of publication.

The book was originally published in 1648, with the simple title, "Novae Solymae Libri sex," Londini, typis Joannis Legati, 1648. No publisher's name is given, nor is there a word from the author except a

distich dissuading from inquiry as to the authorship. Next year a new title page was prefixed to the unsold copies. It may have been thought that the brevity of the original title repelled purchasers; at all events this is now expanded by the addition, "Sive Institutio Christiani," and a statement of the subjects of the chapters. The important information is further given that the book, with Legat's name retained as printer, is sold by Thomas Underhill, who had previously published four tracts for Milton. The type, experts say, is undoubtedly Legat's, which does not prove him to have been the actual printer, but justifies the belief that the book was printed in London, since it is far from likely that his types would have been bought for export to Holland or Germany. The special distinction of the new issue is the addition of the writer's "Autocriticon," an explanatory preface which removes the obstacle in the path of the Miltonic theory by fulfilling the requirements of the theory and showing the date of composition to have been long prior to that of publication. "It was written," says the still anonymous writer, "in the heat of youthful ardour, and when, after a long interval, during which the author had much to occupy his mind and disturb his thoughts," etc. The heat of youthful ardor can hardly be supposed to have extended beyond the age of twenty-five, which, supposing Milton the author, would correspond to the year 1634. This was the fatal year in which Charles I. broke with his people by the illegal levying of ship money; had "Nova Solyma" been composed at a later date it must almost inevitably have contained some allusion to the political situation. Four years afterwards Milton went to Italy, and from that time forth must certainly have been unable to give the attention which the author of the "Autocriticon" declares to be necessary for the thorough reconstruction of the book. If, then, the book is Milton's, it must have been written either at Cambridge, or during his residence with his father at Horton, or partly at one and partly at the other period. One trifling circumstance,—always on the hypothesis of the Miltonic authorship,—speaks for Horton, and convinces us at all events that the author, whoever he was, had been accustomed to walk by the margins of rivers. In the verses on spring which prelude the book, he says, as rendered by Mr. Begley:—

" The disappearing ice
Floats down the stream, and fish with shining scales
Flash in its clear serene ; their sportive fry
In shallow creeklets swarm."

Mr. Begley's generally admirable translation scarcely renders the full force of *mersa glacies*, a true touch of natural description, while the

shoals of small fish in brooks and water courses, so numerous near Horton, are characteristic marks of south country rivers. The streams near Cambridge would scarcely be sufficiently clear for such observation.

For this reason, and others more obvious, we concur with Mr. Begley in deeming that, if "Nova Solyma" be a work of Milton's, "it was composed while Milton was staying with his father at Horton those five years after he had left the university." There is, however, one important episode which, whoever the author of "Nova Solyma" may be, we should attribute to an earlier date. This is the fine fragment of an epic on the Armada, ascribed to Joseph, notwithstanding the improbability of such a subject being undertaken by a young Jew who had never seen England. It stands in no relation whatever to the plot of "Nova Solyma," and is clearly an earlier composition which the poet had been unable to complete, and yet, with good reason, valued too highly to throw away. It may probably have been suggested by the idealized account of the Armada expedition in Barclay's "Argenis," a political romance which has evidently exerted a strong influence on "Nova Solyma." It is exactly the poem which might be expected from a young man of poetical talent at the university; we will even go further and say from a young Milton, writing in Latin. Remarkable, indeed, is the distinction between the literary merit of the prose and the poetry in "Nova Solyma." The former is far from contemptible; yet we should think that Mr. Begley himself must admit that, if we had been informed of the discovery of a Latin romance from Milton's pen, we should have expected something considerably better. The verse, on the contrary, is in general thoroughly worthy of Milton, the Latin poet, and equal to the standard of anything he wrote in Latin except his last and best Latin poem, the "Epitaphium Damonis." The poem on the Armada in particular, if not absolutely exempt from the atmosphere of the prize poem, is still a work from which poetical eminence might have been safely predicted. Mr. Begley makes a very strong point of the resemblances between the Armada epic and Milton's acknowledged Latin poem on the Gunpowder Plot, the machinery of which is almost precisely similar. The most sceptical must, we think, admit that if the two poems had come down to us as anonymous productions they would have been attributed to the same author. It is further impossible not to be struck with the resemblances between touches of description in the Armada epic and "Paradise Lost." Uriel wears "of beamy morning rays a golden tiar." The head of the angel Ergotheus in the Latin poem is *radiis incensus*. The disguise of "a stripling cherub" assumed by Satan is nearly the same as the appearance of the youthful angel Charitheus:—

“Cui virginis ora,
Impubesque genae, crinique in colla revolvit
Aureus, et roseo resplendet lumine vultus.”

We may also compare the disposition of the vessels of the Armada “*curvatae in faciem lunae*,” with the “angelic squadron” of “Paradise Lost,”

“Sharpening in mooned horns
Their phalanx.”

The angel’s voyage to the cave of Death and the summons for him to disperse the Spanish fleet, also seems very like a prefigurement of Satan’s encounter with Death and Sin. While the sublimities of “Paradise Lost” are thus foreshadowed, an equally strong argument may be drawn from the characteristic defects of both poems. The materialism and clumsiness of which it is impossible to acquit the description of the war in heaven reappear in the Armada poem, where Christ is represented as burning the Spanish fleet by proxy.

We have not space to follow Mr. Begley into the minor arguments for Milton’s authorship of “Nova Solyma” which he has amassed with such diligence and erudition. We may think that he sometimes does his argument some injustice by insisting upon slight indications, forgetful that the strength of a chain cannot exceed that of the weakest link. In the main, however, his proofs are much to the purpose. He finds that Milton and the author of “Nova Solyma,” though excellent Latin poets, fall into the same error of omitting to lengthen a short vowel at the end of a word,—when the following word begins with an “s” followed by a mute. Both violate classical propriety by using “Belgia” instead of “Belgium.” Both have a remarkable fondness for diminutives. They employ the same unusual words, of which *statuminare* from Columella is a signal instance. They agree in preferring the Italian pronunciation of Latin. These arguments, if not amounting to proof, certainly create a presumption which is generally strengthened by the observation that the subjects discussed in “Nova Solyma” agree exactly with those which we know to have interested Milton. Creation, the Fall, evil angels, the Adamic covenant, the Trinity, sin, public worship, education, poetry, polity,—such are undoubtedly the questions on which the youthful Milton’s head would be running, and, considering the difficulty of most of them, it is remarkable, indeed, to find such a general concurrence between the views of Milton as known to us and those of the author of “Nova Solyma.” Two apparent discrepancies are in truth not really

such. There is no reason to suppose that Milton took up his views on divorce until the question came practically home to him in 1643; it is impossible to determine when he formed his ultimate opinion on the natural mortality of the soul. The ascription of "Nova Solyma" to Milton certainly requires that it should have been written during his Horton residence at the latest, and hence we cannot think that Mr. Begley strengthens his case by attributing so much influence to Hartlib. If Hartlib had much to do with the book, it would be difficult to avoid referring its composition to nearly the same date as the tractate on "Education," in which case Milton could not be the author. Fortunately for the Miltonic hypothesis this view seems inconsistent with the absolute want of allusion to the politics of that exciting time. We should be quite ready to believe that Hartlib knew the book in manuscript, and that his instances prevailed upon Milton to exhume it from his desk, and send it into the world without the revision which he knew to be necessary, but which he had no time to bestow. He might well be disinclined to prefix his name to it under such circumstances, and without his name so abstruse a work may well have fallen dead from the press. On this view Hartlib and other friends who had led him into humiliating failure may well have thought that least said was soonest mended; and this opinion may account for the utter silence of contemporaries respecting book and author,—a formidable difficulty, however, in any case, of which Mr. Begley makes too light. It should be added that the "Autocriticon" appended to the reissue uses the word *institutum* in a sense almost peculiar to Milton. This is but a sample of the numerous small indications Mr. Begley is able to produce which tend to fix the authorship upon Milton, while, so far as we know at present, they have no relationship to any other author of the period. Mr. Begley, we think, goes too far in apparently regarding this impossibility of producing another candidate as an unequivocal proof of Miltonic authorship. We have heard of mute, inglorious Miltons! At the same time, the improbability of the existence of such a person is augmented by the fact that he can only be sought for in a narrow circle, since, whatever else may be predicated of the author of "Nova Solyma," it is evident that he is an Englishman, that his Puritanism is of an exceptional type, and it is almost certain that he belonged to the University of Cambridge.

In endeavoring to determine the problem with which Mr. Begley has presented us, we find ourselves confronted with two powerful and adverse lines of argument. On the one hand, there is the difficulty of conceiving Milton to have produced anything not "organically Miltonic," anything whose Miltonic origin requires to be established by the consid-

eration of a multitude of minutiae. On the other hand, it is equally difficult to believe that such a number of significant indications should be entirely fallacious. The book has not yet received the critical attention it demands, and it may be long before it does, for Mr. Begley has not reproduced the Latin text, indispensable to accurate investigation, and not more than six copies are known to exist. When this investigation comes, it may bring to light particulars inconsistent with Miltonic authorship; should it fail to do so, Mr. Begley's theory will be greatly fortified. Yet, even then, it will be felt that one passage of which it could be confidently affirmed, *Aut Milton aut Diabolus*, would supersede all other testimony. At present we can but watch with Satan,

"The golden scales still hung
Betwixt Astraea and the Scorpion sign,"

yet, unlike Satan, without observing either argument to kick the beam. No balance, however, is needed to weigh the merit of the editor and translator with nicety. All necessary qualifications have met in Mr. Begley,—the interest in exceptional research which alone could have induced him to study a book at first sight so little attractive as "Nova Solyma," the discernment which revealed its substantial merit, the acumen which conjectured its possible relation to Milton, the courage which published a view certain to excite violent incredulity, the erudition which has furnished such wealth of illustrative commentary, and the literary gifts which have produced so excellent a translation, alike of his original's prose and of its verse. These qualities are equally admirable whether they have enabled Mr. Begley to enlarge, though he cannot enhance, our estimate of Milton, or whether they have merely added another to the insoluble problems of literature.

FROM LEO XIII. TO PIUS X.

MARQUIS FILIPPO CRISPOLTI

ROME

THE POPE has been chosen by the last three conclaves, not because of his politics, but for his character. In 1846, 1878, and 1903, the cardinals who were most conspicuous for their determined policy, with whom the Sacred College had voluntarily collaborated, were respectively, Lambruschini, Bilio, and Rampolla. All received votes but none were elected. Each time cardinals have been chosen, who, having been bishops in the provinces, far from Rome, had very little occasion to deal with the general affairs of the Holy See, or to form and enunciate a clear and complete programme; these were Cardinals Mastai, Bishop of Imola, Cardinal Pecci, Bishop of Perugia, Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice. The Sacred College knew only the character of the cardinals, and during fifty-seven years, in much diversity of public circumstances, these retained the same temperaments which had pleased their conclaves; their spirits were entirely sacerdotal, judgment well poised, and dispositions indulgent and conciliatory. It would seem that the Sacred College had said in its heart these three times: "We do not wish to determine the way which the new Pope shall take, we prefer, on the contrary, not to know it. We will be content if the person elected has the piety, charity, and prudence necessary to be worthy of the high office. As for the use he will make of it we will trust in Providence and him."

The ways that were taken by Pius IX. and Leo XIII. (and so it will be with Pius X.) were chosen for personal reasons, different one from the other, and quite independent of the considerations which prompted their election. But if their subsequent history had been prophesied the day they were elected, accepting as a basis for this prophecy the reasons which led the Sacred College to their election, one would have said that the three pontificates would act alike, so identical were they in character. It is consequently very difficult to know which road will be taken by Pius X. The history of his pontificate is only a few months old, his work as bishop was extraneous to the vast and manifold problems of the Vatican; the conclave in which he was elected said clearly, that his person had the opportune qualities for a pontiff, but did not define clearly what the cardinal electors expected him to make of these qualities. Cardinal

Translated by Salvatore Cortesi of Rome.

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Gibbons, whom I met at the station at Turin, after the election of Pius X., said to me that he was one of the cardinals who, the night of August third, supplicated Cardinal Sarto to accept the nomination, and, very pleased at the Patriarch's decision, added: "Pius X. is a man of God and a man of the people, thus he has the two qualities necessary in our days." This is the opinion and the confident hope of all those who elected him, this is the reason of the immediate world-wide success that his selection has had, but from this there is not sufficient light to divine the future acts of the pontiff. The intention is one thing, the means to carry it out another. Love of the divine cause and the cause of the people might suggest most diverse methods and actions. Probably all of the fifty cardinals who gave Pius X. their vote would willingly adopt the formula of the American cardinal, but there would be a great divergence of opinion as soon as each tried to form a concrete programme.

The only indication of the future of Pius X., which can be deduced from the way he was elected, is founded on the characters of the five cardinals who voted for him in the first scrutiny, and who, making themselves in a certain sense his guarantors with their colleagues, launched his candidature. Of these five, four are known to have been Svampa, Ferrari, Satolli, and Respighi. If the pontificate of the newly elected corresponds to the opinions of these four, it will be in several ways reformative and progressive. Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna, has roused much comment in these days by encouraging Italian priests to undertake with confidence the study of historical criticism, which up to now has been more feared than cultivated. He has written in the "*Rivista delle Riviste*" ("Review of Reviews") for the clergy, which is published at Macerata: "Our clergy is just beginning now to be educated to this new intellectual movement, and it is therefore advisable to warn the ignorant, wake up those who sleep, and encourage the timid, giving at the same time a wide field to those willing to consecrate their intelligence and strength to the service of science and faith. The important work which is being accomplished throughout the Catholic world, and which has had splendid encouragement from the Roman pontiff, will undoubtedly end in the glorious triumph of holy religion." Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, is known for his great desire to see ecclesiastical discipline revived in the world, rendered more sound, and in part revised according to the necessities of the times; he would introduce more alacrity and simplicity, and let fall those obstacles which in various grades of the priesthood, beginning with the highest, are mostly a residue of antique etiquette, rather than the eternal necessity of rite and rule. Cardinal Satolli, when apostolic delegate in America, said to Catholics, in

the name of the Pope, "March ahead on the road of progress, carrying in one hand the laws of Christian truth and the Evangelists, and in the other, the Constitution of the United States"; when he was in New York, in the first direct contact between Rome and the great republic, he seemed sometimes the representative of the Latin slowness in comparison with American alacrity, but he returned to Rome to be one of the authoritative and favorable witnesses to the liberal and fresh spirit which agitates the American world. Cardinal Respighi, Vicar of His Holiness in Rome, although somewhat diffident of the invasion of the modern spirit, is distinguished for his constant and prudent work, with which he seeks to abolish abuses and unjust privileges, which, under the form of pecuniary gain, during the centuries, have crept into religious life and affairs in the Eternal City. These four cardinals were the principal electors of the new Pope, and although they themselves knew rather the virtues than the particular ideas of their candidate, still they certainly thought that these qualities represented in themselves a natural inclination towards their own ideas of reform, and one of the four cardinals on the eve of the conclave declared that to have Pius X., "Rather a good Minister of the Interior than a Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Church," was the great necessity of the present hour.

The moral qualities of Pius X., which were revealed to the world by the minute investigations of the press into his history as priest and bishop, are such as to recommend him easily as "Minister of the Interior." Like Leo XIII., he has a very high idea of the papacy, but shows it in quite the opposite manner from Pope Leo. The former thought that it was necessary to raise his person, and thus become less disproportionate to the great office, even to appear the living incarnation of the papacy. Pius X. seems, instead, to believe that the more humility he shows in his person, in contrast to the height of the position, so much the more would it have from him an undoubted and efficacious testimony. Pope Leo, accepting with iron discipline all the decorousness and the inconveniences of sovereignty, always appeared as a sovereign in solemn rites as in intimate conversation. Pius X., maintaining as much as possible his native and loved simplicity, allows the people and those whom he receives, to consider the external and inevitable signs of his new splendor as a thing extraneous to him, accepted from duty, not from vocation. Certainly the head of Leo XIII. was more erect on his death-bed than that of his successor in the *sedes gestatoria*.

Now the world seems to have well understood this identity of aim under the diversity of method, and with only fifteen days interval it gave the same reverent and enthusiastic reception to the two popes, although

they were so different in themselves. But it is undeniable that the character of the new Pope is more fit for an internal renovation of the church than that of the defunct pontiff. The spirit of majesty strictly binds the feelings to tradition, which with its grandeur and its exterior forms, in part necessary, in part outliving the cause of their origin and the reason of their being, contributes to elevate the level of authority in the eyes of the world and of those of him who is invested with it. The spirit of simplicity, on the contrary, tends to look at this mechanism of centuries from the outside with free and critical eyes, so as to separate easily that which has the right to be perpetuated, from that which, having been born useless, should be discarded. Innovators in all camps are usually simple men, disposed to exercise the axe on superfluous branches in the historic woods, because their spirits have always remained somewhat outside the complications of those forests, not having experienced the fascination felt by those who have lived in them, and who consider their labyrinths dearer and clearer than any straight paths which others would cut.

II.

How will these generic differences of attitude towards reform and change affect the two great unsolved problems left by Leo XIII. to his successor,—namely, the problem of the relations of the Holy See towards the kingdom of Italy, and the problem of Christian democracy? Leo XIII. was elected for his prudent and conciliatory turn of mind, rather than for any plan of action which he proposed; and as in 1878 the reestablishment of good relations with foreign powers was the great question of the day, it was natural to a man of his disposition to assume for a sphere of action, the rôle of “minister of foreign affairs,” so to speak, of the church. And so well did he pursue this policy, it may be said, that, excepting the strained relations with France, he left nothing undone. So great, indeed, was his work in the diplomatic field, that his successor finds there is little left for him to do. Therefore, the new Pope’s abstention from politics arises not from personal disinclination alone, but because he is enjoying the fruits of the work of his predecessor. All that he has to do is to hold fast what has been gained, and the best way to continue the work of Leo XIII. is, in a great measure, to abstain from action. Leo XIII., having done all that was needful for the affairs of the foreign states, entered upon two plans, the one in part opposed to what was generally expected, the other more vast and original than the cardinals and the faithful in 1878 could have anticipated. The first was the continuance of the conflict of the Vatican with the Quirinal

as it was under Pius IX., perhaps, however, in a more accentuated form. Pius IX. demanded, from 1870 onwards, all the former temporal power, though he had no hope of his demand being granted and did nothing to that end; Leo XIII., on the other hand, always showed himself ready to be satisfied with any fragment of that power no matter how small, and for this he worked with an untiring assiduity, and never without hope. And truly, while the visible conflict between Church and State was less sharp under Leo XIII. than under Pius IX., because of the calm which had supervened in Italy after the revolution and the taking of Rome, the invisible conflict of diplomacy fought out in foreign cabinets between the national representatives and those of the Vatican was much sharper under Leo XIII. than under his predecessor.

The other course of action entered upon by the late Pope could not even have been imagined, and it was much more characteristic and important than any of his diplomatic successes. He undertook, reverting to the great tradition of the Middle Ages, to guide the church into the paths of social life, where she should not only set forth the Gospel, but also rigorously apply her precepts even in questions between capital and labor. These two problems to which Leo XIII. devoted himself have now come to Pius X. almost intact,—the problem of the relative positions of the nation and the church; and the problem of Christian democracy, which Leo XIII. did not live to treat definitely or as a whole. The world watches with curiosity to see in what manner Pius X. will exercise his known abilities in fulfilling this double mission.

III.

The question of the positions of the Holy See and the kingdom of Italy created on September 20, 1870, difficult in itself, was complicated by historical precedents. After the sack of Rome in 1527 by Constable Bourbon, there had been no invasion of the city until 1798. From that time until the breach of the Porta Pia, Rome was three times taken from the Pope: first, during the French Revolution in said year (1798), second, by Napoleon in 1809, and third, in the Roman Revolution of 1848. In all these three invasions, though the victors perhaps hoped to limit their conquest to the taking of the city, they, nevertheless, possessed themselves of the person of the Pope. Pius VI. was taken to Valence by the Directory; Pius VII. to Savona and Fontainebleau by the emperor; and Pius IX. would, in his turn, have been taken prisoner by the Roman insurgents who had planted their cannon in front of his palace, had he not secretly fled to Gaeta.

These precedents seemed to render personal violence to the Pope inseparable from the conquest of his capital. For, when in 1870 Rome, for the fourth time within a century, suffered invasion, the followers of the papacy believed that, unless the Italian army were speedily repulsed, the Pope would be deprived of his personal liberty and power to act. Nor were they tranquilized even by Victor Emmanuel's solemnly guaranteeing to the Pope the free exercise of his spiritual power as head of the church. In fact, both Napoleon and the Roman Republic had promulgated a similar law of guarantee, the inefficiency and irony of which were soon apparent.

On the other hand, the rulers of the kingdom of Italy, while promising like their predecessors to respect the person of the Pope, showed that they felt the influence of these three historic precedents, by their secret adherence to the belief that the moral position, which the two powers held with regard to one another, on September twenty-first, could not long remain unchanged. They supposed that the Pope would either submit to the limitations imposed upon him, and accept the compensations offered by the kingdom, or that he would choose the other alternative, and go away from Rome. Neither party could ever have imagined that thirty-three years would pass without the slightest change in the attitude of the two powers; that during this period the one would remain within, the other without, the bronze doors, each firm in its own convictions, patiently and silently watching to see whether the other would yield. No one could have imagined that the suppositions of both clerical and liberal parties would be wrong; the first having predicted that the government would either withdraw from Rome or enter the Vatican; the second, that the Pope was certain either to capitulate or to adopt liberal measures.

What is the cause of this general mistake, of this unforeseen duration of a strange and involuntary but externally peaceful *statu quo*? The explanation is easy. The violence against the person of the Pope committed by the three preceding conquerors of Rome was due to their warlike attitude towards the other European powers, and all international pledges were powerless to prevent the fatal excesses into which they were drawn. The revolutions in France and Rome took place for the most part under circumstances so extreme and so precarious, that to attack personally the Head of the Church in the face of the other powers was a desperate act. Napoleon on his side felt himself so strong that he considered it needless to give to other nations an account of his violent treatment of the head of a religion professed by them all. But the kingdom of Italy, founded to a great extent through diplomacy, and aspiring to a place among other nations, and to friendship with all, was

neither so comparatively weak that in desperation it would resort to violence, nor yet so strong that it could act free and independently. Although the government of Italy drew up the law of papal guarantees in accordance with the forms of other laws relating to internal affairs, and although it declared, especially after the Mancini Circular in 1881, that the relation with the Pope was an internal question, concerning which Italian ambassadors should not be addressed by foreign powers, yet the spiritual liberty of the Vatican was thought to be guarded by a pledge given to other nations and to be as unostentatiously and punctually discharged as the payment of the interest on consols to foreign holders.

Thus the immunity of the Vatican, and the freedom of access to the Pope, given to Catholics from all parts of the world, in other words, the material conditions of the spiritual independence of the Head of the Church, though *de jure* only entrusted to Italian laws which might at the discretion of the government be modified or destroyed, and thus have no guarantee of perpetuity, were *de facto* entrusted to the invisible force of all the powers whom Italy has no wish to displease. And unless some exceptional circumstance should arise, this international equilibrium is perfectly secure and renders Italy so strong and yet so weak that she can neither abandon nor violate the guardianship of pontifical liberty which she has assumed in the face of the world. The Vatican and its approaches have remained free for thirty-three years, and there is a moral certainty that they will remain free for many future years. When, for example, the time came to hold a new conclave no one inquired whether Italy would permit the conclave to assemble in safety and freedom; every one felt that this was guaranteed by the force of circumstances to which Italy could only bow.

The material tranquility of the lives of the two sovereigns in Rome was facilitated by the fact that after 1870 the popes shut themselves up in the Vatican without ever leaving its precincts. This line of conduct together with their refusal of the three millions of francs offered annually by the Italian government, prevented the necessity of carrying out the more difficult clauses of the law of guarantees. For if the Pope had accepted this sum, and had gone freely about the streets of Rome, he would have received honors equal or superior to those offered to the king, and Italy would have perceived that she had allowed too much for the Pope and too little for herself. What state can consent for a long period to grant exceptional honors to any extraneous power? The highest honors are, indeed, granted to foreign sovereigns who come as guests, but this can occur only because the visit is of short duration. But if the Pope and the king should continually meet in the same city, how

would it be possible to avoid friction, when, involuntarily perhaps, each would be the object of contrary currents of popular favor? Since, however, the Pope shuts himself up in the Vatican, and steadily refuses any benefit from the government, he can, within his own walls, receive royal honors, and act merely as the head of a household, a household larger certainly than others, in which, owing to the continual coming and going of strangers, guards are required at the doors to keep order. In this capacity the Pope is merely a citizen, not privileged by the law of guarantees, but enjoying that protection which all civilized communities extend to their members.

The law of guarantees being thus nullified, it is natural that no political party should seek to abrogate or alter it. Even men of anti-clerical ideas, when they rise to power on the Left, become its faithful supporters because there is no necessity of its being carried out. Its author, Ruggiero Bonghi, confessed to Enrico Panzacchi that he had drawn it up in three different forms, every one bad, because at that time he did not believe that it would ever become law. In the eyes of the liberal party it became a good law only when it was apparent that it must remain a dead letter. One clause only had to be accepted, namely, that which allows to foreign ambassadors accredited to the Pope the same privileges enjoyed by those accredited to the king, but it is generally considered that this favor is not the outcome of the law of guarantees, and does not originate because of any special regard for the Pope, but is due only to the moral force of foreign powers, to whom it would be impossible to refuse such privilege.

When William II. went lately to visit Pope Leo XIII., and for that day turned his back on the Quirinal Palace, using his own carriages and being escorted by his own cuirassiers, what was the article in the law of guarantees which authorized a line of conduct that no other nation could allow a guest visiting its king? There is no such article. It was a concession on the part of Italy to the power and importance of the emperor, who chose to act thus, and a similar concession is made to the ambassadors accredited to the Pope. If the law of guarantees did not exist or should be abolished, these ambassadors would, by virtue of their office, receive from the Italian government the same privileges.

IV.

This state of things, in point of fact, so enduring and so peaceful yet in theory so precarious and incoherent, continued to nullify opinions and forecasts. The Catholics questioned if this were, indeed, a true tran-

quility and they complained loudly whenever it was ruffled by any action of the government. Such opportunities for complaint frequently occurred; for instance, when vile and atrocious insults were offered to the body of Pius IX. as it was being conveyed through the streets of Rome; when the statue of Giordano Bruno was erected in the Vatican; when a mob followed and annoyed with impunity a company of French pilgrims; when the Premier Zanard prohibited government officials from taking part in demonstrations in honor of Pius X.; and other occasions which the more enlightened of the liberal party also blamed. But this going into details with regard to the actions of the government in Rome put the main point of the question and its magnitude out of sight; for notwithstanding the errors, sometimes voluntarily committed by the government, it was, on the whole, true that the tranquility of Rome, the guardianship of the Vatican, the liberty of the Pope to regulate his own affairs and to receive his own followers, had been, during all these years, more complete than if they had been entrusted to any other single power or to allied powers or even to the temporal power as it was.

The liberal party, on its part, viewing these thirty-three years of calm fell into the mistake of believing that this calm would last and that the "Roman question" existed no longer. Giovanni Geolitti, when prime minister (and he will soon again fill the same office) said to me a year ago: "The question of the Holy See might now be considered dead in Italy as it is in Avignon, if, as in the case of the occupation of the papal territory in France, a whole century had passed instead of only a third of a century, since the breach of the Porta Pia. The Italian government ought so to act that these thirty years may in peace become a hundred." But he and his friends did not consider how, in exceptional cases, the liberty of the Pope might be infringed, and further that there were certain normal circumstances tending to its diminution.

There are two exceptional circumstances, one, a European war, the other, the exit of the Pope from the Vatican. In the first contingency Italy would be responsible only to those nations with which she was allied. In the uncertain conditions which all belligerents must expect, would she have the strength and the will to defend the Vatican against the people, who for years have regarded the Pope as the enemy of the country and as rejoicing in her reverses? To guard against supposed Vatican plots, to save the Pope from popular fury, would not the government be tempted or compelled to take possession of the person of the Pope? This state of affairs would be all the more possible since no nation now desires to reinstate the papal government, and any nation that might be at war with Italy would supposedly wish to excite disorders and

difficulties in that country. Therefore, the guarantee for the liberty of the Pope cannot be complete when there is always the risk of international warfare.

The same may be said of the exit of the Pope from the Vatican. When the popes shut themselves in there, they made a very sagacious move. For in thus avoiding the conflicts which would have arisen, though in the earlier years the powers would, perhaps, have taken a disinterested part as they did at the taking of Rome, the popes were not seeking to escape personal danger but rather a greater peril, that of wasting their energy and dignity in justification of and protestations on behalf of the incidents of their daily life. Placed thus apart, they devoted themselves with calm and undisturbed mind to increase the prestige of the Holy See, and succeeded in regaining for its spiritual ascendancy such a position as it had not enjoyed for ages. In consequence Italy now felt herself more restrained and bound in her relations with the papacy when she saw how its increased splendor awoke in other nations an enlarged interest in the person and circumstances of the pontiff. But can this state of imprisonment last indefinitely? Have not its advantages been exhausted, and will not its discomfort which was almost unendurable to Leo XIII. become insupportable to popes who are accustomed to the excitements of modern life? How, on the other hand, could the Pope go forth from the Vatican freely and habitually when, after the first day of applause, difficulties would be sure to follow from the jealousy of the government? The extreme party of liberals might well say that the civil superiority of the laity was impaired by the constant presence of this privileged ecclesiastic, and that the quiet and freedom of thirty-three years was made uncertain in one day. There is little reason to believe that the present state of affairs which has existed for a long time will continue to exist if the situation is to depend wholly upon the reclusion of the Pope, a reclusion which is always necessary and which is becoming more and more odious. Will not some pope break through this reclusion, not only rarely and quietly, but habitually and with display? Will he not even be beguiled to stir up the insidious and stagnant waters around him?

The Pope who owes his personal liberty to an uncertain peace amid the nations of Europe, and to his reclusion in the Vatican, must owe his moral liberty to another source. Because the Italian government has *de facto* made fellow citizens of the Pope and of so many cardinals and prelates of the curia and lives in continual contact with the Vatican, is it not suspected by other nations to be in a position to influence the actions of the Holy See in its own favor?

Why in the conclave did the foreign nations represented feel certain jealousies towards each other, and none towards Italy? One reason alone can be assigned, namely, that Italy having maintained such open and continued opposition to the Vatican, it could not be supposed that she would in any way submit to the Quirinal. No one could imagine that the Pope would act as chaplain to the king. But this reciprocal opposition which is the complement of the present freedom of the papacy is bought at a dear price. And the Vatican lays itself open to the abhorrence of many Italian patriots, and loses all authority over them, even in religious matters. The kingdom of Italy, on the other hand, is looked upon with distrust and coolness by the adherents of the Pope and is constantly liable to fall under the direction of men whose only recommendation is that they are enemies of the church.

Such is the state of affairs between the Holy See and Italy as it has come to Pius X.; such are its good and evil aspects; such is its superficial temporary tranquility; and such the endless invisible contest which may at any time burst forth. Pius X. is too just, too acute, and has had too much experience of the various parties in Italy not to be cognisant of the situation and to take a middle course between those of the clerical party, who deny the relative quiet of the last thirty-three years, and the liberals, who argue that this peace of thirty-three years will continue for all time. Is it possible, that, considering the uncertainty in which the church stands as regards her liberty, he will abandon her ancient claims and declare himself satisfied with her present position? Could any one believe this? Will he not rather, possessing as he does freedom for spiritual action, endeavor to gain all he can by means of this spiritual work of the church? This plan does not appear unlikely if it be undertaken free from political aim. There must, however, be a marked difference between the course pursued by a pope like Leo XIII., religious but inclined by natural disposition to political action, and a pope like Pius X., who has neither the taste nor the vocation to follow the same path as his predecessor.

Although the popes ought to be equally earnest in their spiritual aims, and to desire the real independence, perpetual and visible of the Holy See; though every pope since 1870 has, without doubt, equally recognized that the present condition of things has not secured independence, and is, therefore, not acceptable, yet there may come popes of different temperament who will treat the Roman question politically and even juridically. Leo XIII. treated this question politically; he did not limit himself merely to declamation in asserting his just claims, but sought positively and with diplomatic patience to obtain satisfaction. A reconciliation with

Italy was always the desire of his heart. "Let Italy take the first step and restore Rome to the Holy See; then the Holy See will relinquish its claims to its former territorial possessions, and will live in peace with the kingdom as with all other states." Such was the thought of Leo XIII., never expressed in public though very often in private, and it may also appear in the biographies of this pontiff now in preparation by Count Soderini and Marion Crawford. In view of such a conclusion his opinion was that the Holy See would do well to keep all its strength in reserve, and to let Italy feel the necessity for such a step, or at least feel that it would be for her interest. He not only labored to undermine that clause in the Triple Alliance by which the possession of Rome is taken for granted as guaranteed to Italy, he not only made stringent conditions as to the visits paid him by foreign rulers, but he held himself prepared, when Italy should agree to this concession, to grant her a reward. For on the day when the transaction should be fulfilled or be in the sure way to be fulfilled, and on that day only would he grant to his adherents the abolition of the *non expedit* and accord them his permission to take a part in the parliamentary life of the country.

Such is the reason why the position taken by Leo XIII. with regard to the Roman question may be called political. And why may not a pope who abstains from politics pursue a different course, while he fervently adheres, notwithstanding, to the judicial *non possumus*?

He may consider as fruitless for the present any active conflict with the kingdom or any positive attempt at reconciliation. But he may believe that no clause of the Triple Alliance, no royal visits, no parliamentary voting of Catholics, can ever avail to diminish the enduring right of the Holy See to reacquire an independent and firmly established sovereignty. Will Pius X., though abstaining from politics, maintain these principles? It is too early to give a positive answer, yet it is easy to foresee that he will not hesitate to take advantage of the spiritual liberty, though it be temporary, which he enjoys, and endeavor to obtain, as quickly as possible, a more definite independence.

It may be foreseen, that, should he consider it opportune for the internal life of the church to reopen the Vatican Council, he will be deterred from so doing by the fact that it was closed by Pius IX. at the period of the taking of Rome. The attitude of waiting, if hereafter compensated for by a universally vigorous reconstruction of ecclesiastical life, may be in fact, a most efficacious policy. The right of the Holy See to obtain again in Italy the exalted place it ought to hold, will be the stronger and the more effective, as the spiritual power and the unity of the church increase.

V.

The second question bequeathed by Leo XIII. to Pius X. is that of Christian democracy. This question arose in its present form in Germany through the initiative of the famous Monsignor (Ketteler) of Mayence, who, if he was not the first to advise the church to turn to the people and to take the social question into her own hands, was first to warn her that the Christian rights of the people cannot be measured by the rules of the Manchester school, although by degrees in accordance with the laws of capital and labor they have become even for Catholics a kind of embodiment of natural law. This democracy was first tried by fire in America. It was not merely a question of the doctrines professed by persons belonging to the higher classes, and restrained by their own conservative tendencies; it was a question of practical action initiated by the people themselves for their own profit. Could the church approve of the Knights of Labor? Cardinal Gibbons, who successfully defended them, may be considered the Ketteler of practical Christian democracy. Leo XIII., who possessed in the highest degree the traditional pontifical and Roman virtue of understanding every effort for good which might spontaneously arise anywhere, and of incorporating it into the central life of the church, followed with the closest attention these first signs of a movement which tended to apply to modern social questions the justice of the Gospel; he made it his own, desiring that it might become a working scheme for the whole church, and thus he obtained the glorious reward that his name should go down to posterity as a great reformer. Who would ever have believed this of him when he was elected Pope rather for his moderation than his activity, rather for his prudence in difficult matters than for his power of taking the initiative? This ardor so peculiarly modern was indeed marvelous in a man who had returned to Rome before 1840, to a world circumscribed and timid; in a priest who more than all other Italian priests had studied political economy, but who had stopped at a point far short of Christian democracy, that is, at Frédéric Bastiat! How immensely his ability, his knowledge, and his interests were determined and extended by his accession to the papacy!

But why should Christian democracy, adopted and supported by Leo XIII., be called a question rather than a victory? If it aims, as the encyclical "*Graves de communi*" declares, at making the "conditions of life easier for those who live by manual labor, so that they may with ease provide for the necessities of life, and may freely perform their moral and religious duties to their families and to the world, feeling that they are not brutes but men, not pagans but Christians," then why should it fear

opposition? Why should we ask how will Pius X. regard Christian democracy? He was born in a plebeian home, and though now raised high above his original position, continues to love the members of his family and desires to have them near him and in their original humble condition. Will not this man, who preserves intact the spirit of poverty of the Gospel, be specially the friend of the poor? The reason of the doubt and of the question is this, that in as far as the democratic movement of the church is a movement of charity, not only of that easier charity which consists in alms-giving, but of the more difficult charity which seeks justice for all, and desires that all should be permitted to seek that justice for themselves; in so far, therefore, it would appear that the more a man inclines towards Christian democracy the more charitable must he be. But, in fact, the impulse given to this democracy has raised in many Catholic minds a desire for certain social and intellectual methods which are still much questioned, especially in the slow and cautious minds of the Latin races, and which please or displease, not according to their greater or less degree of charity, but according to the greater or less rigor with which they interpret Catholic dogmas. In this sense and to this extent Christian democracy is still a question; this is the reason why even a pope, democratic "par excellence," may be uncertain as to just how far he should favor it.

There are two special points of Christian democracy about which Catholic minds are still divided. The first concerns the manner of looking at the conduct of the working men who are contented with the low rate of wages which they receive in many places; should their contentment be regarded as Christian resignation, to be praised and cultivated, or should they be thought enfeebled and insensible to their misery, and in need of being aroused to a sense of their necessities, so that they might become efficient promoters of an economic improvement which would enable them better to fulfil their Christian duties to themselves and to their families? This is the question, though not so concisely formulated, which is at the bottom of all the disagreements among those who have with one accord adopted the badge of the Christian democracy, blessed by Leo XIII. They, feeling an instinctive desire to give justice and charity to the people, and believing themselves formed into one phalanx, are surprised to find two opposite opinions and consequent mutual recriminations in their party. Now if those who hold these opposite views would be quite open with each other, they would understand that these differences are not arbitrary, nor are they to be adjusted merely by a little good feeling. Even though the promotion of charity and justice towards the people has always been a tradition of the church so that its

action in the social conflicts of the present day is quite consistent; even though the church, especially in the Middle Ages, has often seconded and blessed the collective economic elevation of the artisan, yet its taking the lead today rather than the second place, and its stimulating the artisan rather than waiting till he feels his need, seems to be a new line of action, which might readily lead to excesses and imprudence.

Leo XIII. had not time to pronounce upon this problem, because it had not been stated in precise terms, he had not time to explain to the masses whether Christian patience would enable them to bear all hereditary ills, or to submit to the sacrifices necessary to obtain relief from such ills; in a word, he had not time to learn whether he ought to recommend to the people that form of patience which is dear to timid democrats, or that preferred by those who are more eager.

We are led to believe that the problem will be clearly defined under the pontificate of Pius X. What solution will he find? We cannot predict with certainty. Perhaps, having been so long near Venice, where so much practical work is done for the people, and so great a dread prevails of innovations in points of doctrine, he may be inclined to proceed slowly, and to advise caution. In his first public act, namely, his speech on September thirteenth, to the workmen belonging to the Catholic Association of Rome, he advised them to be contented with their condition. He did not intend to preclude any improvement consistent with the position of a working man, but probably Leo XIII. in a similar discourse would have alluded more definitely to social questions. This discourse must, however, be reconciled with his words spoken privately on August fifteenth to Count Grosoli, head of a certain Catholic party in Italy, when he said that between what the Holy See commands and that which is forbidden, there exists a field of liberty of thought and action. This leads us to believe that Pius X. will probably give to the question of Christian democracy a less decided impulse than his predecessor would have done, but will leave Catholics more or less free to act in the matter according to their own judgment.

The same may, perhaps, be said of the other disputed point of Christian democracy. This question besides bringing the Catholic world into contact with the realities of modern social life, would raise the question whether the priests and the Catholic laity of the present day have sufficient force and culture to place themselves at the head of an undertaking so decidedly progressive. It might be necessary to reform their education so that they might acquire a versatility of mind, and information sufficiently up-to-date to deal with a society which aims at returning to the Gospel, as not only the eternal source of virtue, but also the supreme and effica-

cious law of justice for all classes. This is the reason of the tendency towards innovation in Biblical study, and towards the revival of philosophical, naturalistic, and sociological instruction; it is also the reason of that desire for fuller culture among Catholics, and of their increased disposition towards all permitted forms of public activity. It may also explain those tendencies which once only existed in individual priests and laics, but suddenly became widely diffused and imperious. Christian democracy, which arose to fulfill certain modern social and economic requirements, naturally became the vehicle of other forms of modern thought. Now on this point there is animated discussion, because in the Latin Catholic world the idea for some centuries has prevailed that vast culture in the clergy was rather an admirable ornament than a necessity; and that the civil activity of the laity, though highly praiseworthy, ought to resist that advice which is centuries old, *Rumores fuge*.

Many of these educational problems, which were not matured under Leo XIII., will mature naturally under Pius X. And with regard to these the Pope will probably apply that plan of action which may be seen in his whole attitude, namely, caution in taking measures in the name of the church, and liberality in granting to every man freedom to go his own way within certain limits.

This system is easier to him than it was to his predecessor. Leo XIII. was inclined to exercise authority with more boldness, and seemed to desire to affix everywhere the seal of that authority, thus producing a certain uniformity in the actions and thoughts of the faithful. But Pius X. appears to be less progressive in his personal aims, while he is less inclined to exercise authority and more inclined to grant liberty to free initiative. Thus the expectations formed during the first weeks of his holding office, with which desires and carefully weighed forecasts agree, may be thus summarized: a pontificate which, while undisturbed by politics, and permitting the faithful to move unchecked in their own spheres of action, will turn its energies to the reorganization and encouragement of all ecclesiastical life.

NATIONALITY AND MILITARISM

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LONDON

OF ALL the questions that claim the attention of the patriot and the philanthropist, there is none that presents features of more commanding interest than that of the growth of great citizen armies in Europe. Few facts of today have been more discussed with regard to the social and economic outlook, yet there is no modern development the growth of which out of the circumstances of the past has received so little investigation. If we are to understand the essential character of modern militarism, we must try to trace it back to its beginnings and to realize the conditions from which it has sprung. Only in the embryonic stage can the essential features of an organism be observed in a way that throws light on its inner being, and only by pursuing a quasi-biological method with regard to this portentous political growth can we hope to strip off its accidental or parasitical adjuncts, gauge its vitality, and perhaps even venture with some approach to accuracy, on some conjecture as to its duration.

I purpose to show, as clearly as limits of space will allow, that the rise of citizen armies in Europe has been due to the increasing solidarity of sentiment between governments and their subjects, and to the growth of strong national feelings which vitalized and rendered organic peoples previously unconscious of their own strength. The course of the argument will, I believe, prove that nationality has been the parent of modern militarism, other impulses such as that of democracy being subsidiary and non-essential. Monarchy will also be shown to have contributed little to the beginnings of universal conscription, though clearly it has been strengthened by its general adoption. The process of comparison, which I purpose briefly to bring to bear on the question, will carry us back to the primal instincts summed up in the term nationality, an instinct which Mr. Nassau, Senior, in 1850 condemned as "a crude, mischievous, barbaric force, not to be tolerated by any enlightened man."

Monarchy has often been accused of introducing the era of vast armies and universal service, but the evidence controverts this assertion, at least as regards Europe. The Roman Empire secured the peace of its vast dominions by a standing army of about three hundred to three hundred and fifty thousand men, largely barbarians, whose warlike instincts had been first evoked in the service required by the tribe from all its

able-bodied men. The feudal system did but continue in a more definite and personal form the customs of the tribal fyrd or militia of immemorial antiquity. As the monarchs established highly trained forces, they reduced their numbers far below those which were the rule in the old tribal organizations. The France of Louis XIV. and the Prussia of Frederick the Great had, proportionately to population, far fewer men under arms than the Gauls or the German Confederates could muster in the days of Vercingetorix and Arminius. And yet, owing to the ever increasing expence of modern armies, it was only natural that the militarism of the eighteenth century should be visited with the following severe rebuke from one of its ablest thinkers:—

“A new distemper has spread itself over Europe; it has infected our princes and induces them to keep up an exorbitant number of soldiers. It has its redoublings, and of necessity becomes contagious. For, as soon as one prince augments what he calls his troops, the rest, of course, do the same, so that nothing is gained thereby but the public ruin. Each monarch keeps as many armies on foot as if his people were in danger of being exterminated, and they give the name of peace to this general effort of all against all. Thus Europe is ruined to that degree, that were private people to be in the same situation as the three most opulent powers of this part of the world, they would not have necessary subsistence. We are poor, with the riches and commerce of the whole universe.”¹

Montesquieu then proceeded to describe the financial burdens imposed by this growth of armaments, and in this pregnant sentence he seems to foreshadow the causes conducing to the French Revolution, “The people grow desperate between the necessity of paying, for fear of exactions, and the danger of paying, for fear of new charges.”

Though the growth of continental armies was alarmingly great in the period following on Frederick the Great's seizure of Silesia (1740), and undeniably accelerated the approach of the Revolution, yet the burdens which the older system imposed were as nothing compared with those resulting from the democratic and national movements of the succeeding epochs. The armies which met in the Seven Years' War rarely exceeded fifty thousand on either side. The dauntless Frederick, even after the disaster of Künersdorf, never ordered a “levée en masse,” though his little kingdom of five millions of people seemed to be succumbing to the attacks of states numbering some ninety millions. Doubtless one reason for relying mainly on the nobles and peasants of Prussia is to be found in the inability of a poor government to meet the enormous

(1) Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Loix*, bk. xiii., ch. 17.

expenses entailed by a levy of all able-bodied citizens, but it is equally probable that the lack of any strong patriotism rendered dangerous any appeal to keen witted townsmen, who looked with contempt on the peasants and foreign adventurers forming the rank and file of the old Prussian army. The old governments, indeed, had too little hold on the citizen class to venture on the risks of placing a musket in the hand of every man of military age. The governments were external organisms, imposing their will on the people; they were not the concrete expression of the nation's desires and aspirations. A new sense of duty to the state, a keener and more instinctive patriotism, alone could bring a system of universal conscription within the range of practical politics. No controller of finance, no minister of police, at Paris, Vienna, or Berlin, could venture on the formation of a citizen army without seeming to court bankruptcy and revolution.

Strange as it may seem, the bankruptcy, the "ancien régime," the overturn of the old institutions, and the advent of a militant democracy, led up to the first epoch of great citizen armies. The collapse of the House of Bourbon in France, and the fierce crusading zeal of the Girondin democrats, brought the French people in all its naked strength into conflict with the artificial governments of Austria and Prussia. Then was seen the Antæus-like power of a people determined to maintain its new-born rights, and nobly did France respond to the appeal of the gifted young poet, André Chénier:—

"All ye who have a fatherland and know what it is to you; ye who have parents, wives, children, kindred, friends, for whom ye will to conquer or die, lift up your voice, come forth; let the nation appear."

It appeared,—in the citizen army. This strange portent, whose triumph aroused in Goethe mingled feelings of wonder, enthusiasm, and fear, drove back the troops of the Coalition and gained the Rhine frontier, for which Louis XIV. had vainly striven. The democratic enthusiasm, which had first taken concrete form in tumultuous levies, crystallized under the threatening pressure of the Second Coalition, and produced the first definite legal claim (at least in modern times) to the military service of every youth between the age of twenty and twenty-five years. From this law of September 23, 1798, may be reckoned the rise of modern militarism in a definite form. In its first phase, that of 1798-1814, it originated with a democratic government which was resolved to guard the civil and material conquests of the Revolution against the hostility of monarchical states. So far, however, had the enthusiasm of 1793 evaporated under the sordid rule of the French Directory, that the measure aroused much opposition, especially in the departments which

were hostile or apathetic to democracy. In Belgium the rigor of the conscription so exasperated the newly liberated people that they cut down the trees of liberty, tore in pieces the tricolor, and massacred some of the French officials. But in the greater part of France (proper) the feelings of '93 and the desire to defend the newly won rights predisposed the vast majority of the people to bear the new civic burdens, even when these were redoubled under the Emperor Napoleon.

It must be remarked, however, that, as the rule of the great warrior verged more and more towards despotism, the distaste for military service increased, until in 1811 the number of refractory conscripts in the French Empire rose to the appalling number of forty thousand, and light columns had sometimes to be employed to "compel the French peasants to be conquerors." Mme. de Staël suggestively remarks of the French armies of this period campaigning beyond the Rhine that they scarcely belonged to France. "They no longer defended the interests of the nation; they only served the ambition of one man." This remark of a most gifted observer is interesting not only as a criticism of the Cæsarism of her own days, but as a suggestion of some of the more general and perhaps universal influences which may probably be exerted by modern militarism. It would, of course, be unsafe to argue only from the events and tendencies of an age which was dominated by so exceptionally gifted a genius as that of Napoleon the Great; but any student of that era must admit that the emperor's power was based, in the first instance, on the democratic and national impulses of revolutionary France; that, as those passionate instincts became incarnate in a vast military system, the government passed from a democracy to a bureaucracy, and would assuredly have become a triumvirate even if Bonaparte had remained imprisoned in the sands of Egypt. The growth of an immense army slowly but almost irresistibly favored the change from the principles of 1789 to those of 1799, from the Rights of Man to the control of a Cæsar. Other instances besides that presented by Napoleon's rise to power point in the same direction and it seems only natural to infer that any overpowering popular impulse, whether democratic or purely nationalist in character, that organizes itself in a vast military system, favors the rise of a form of administration which leads to a central despotism and warps the primarily democratic character of the movement. The working of this process, seen in dramatic intensity in the career of the first Napoleon, may never again lead up to a Prætorian autocracy, but it will probably trend in that direction. Even now the friction between the democratic or national sentiments and the military machinery by which they have achieved their aims, must be held

largely responsible for the social "malaise" of the great continental peoples.

If democratic France in the midst of her crises of 1793 and 1798 was the first state to revert to the primitive tribal obligation of military service for every youth of military age, the national movements of Spain and Prussia in and after 1808 extended the conscription and gave it permanence. Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland had shattered the old order of government and cleared the ground for the rise of the modern state, which relied on the collective energies of its people. The state which made the wisest use of this exceptional occasion has become the dominating power of Central Europe. While Stein renovated the civil life of Prussia, the great military organizer, Scharnhorst, began to reconstruct her army as far as possible on the model of the French national army. The two processes went hand in hand; for only by deriving life from the unfettered activities of all her citizens could Prussia hope to rise from the dust, and only by abolishing the odious class distinctions of the past could she assert for the future the obligation of universal military service. As every Prussian citizen was now expected to take part in the municipal duties of his town, so, too, he had to bear arms for his country, whether in the army of the line, the Landwehr, or the tumultuary levies of the Landsturm; and Scharnhorst sounded the note of the new era by proclaiming the eligibility of all soldiers to the higher ranks.

Yet, though the principle of social equality was necessarily advanced by the adoption of the conscription, it would be incorrect to assert that the movement, from which the citizen army originated, was essentially democratic. Had it been so, the men of Prussia would hardly have undertaken their new arduous duties without gaining a definite promise of complete parliamentary representation. Such a desire existed in many breasts, and its disappointment in and after 1814 aroused deep resentment. But the animating impulse of the years 1808-1813 was undoubtedly national rather than democratic. It was love of national independence which inspired the noble Fichte, when, awaking from his cosmopolitan dreams, he stood up in Berlin within sound of the French drums, and thrilled his audience with appeals to a new and exalted patriotism. Selfishness it was (he exclaimed) which had dissolved Germany and left her at the mercy of the invader. A new national consciousness must be rekindled so that the whole nation might become "quite incapable of dependence on the foreigner." In place of a mosaic of states concerned solely with their petty interests, a new and fairer creation was to arise, a German commonwealth, which would realize the highest aspirations of the race:—

"Nation and fatherland, as bearer of and security for immortality on this earth, far transcends the state, in the usual sense of that term.

* * * The state aims only at security of rights and internal peace. All this is only the means, the condition, the preparation, for that at which patriotism essentially aims, the blossoming of the eternal and the divine in the world. For this very reason, patriotism, as being the supreme and final authority, must govern the state itself, and limit it in the choice of means for its next object, internal peace. Hence the natural freedom of the individual must be restricted in many ways, and if one has no other intention and aim than this, it should be restricted as narrowly as possible."¹

In all the famous addresses which thrilled the thinkers of Germany in the spring of 1808, there is no passage which more clearly reveals the passionate desire for national independence and unity. In Fichte's view, the individual is as nothing when the nation's welfare is at stake. Seeing that a man's work can survive only by his participation in the enduring life of the nation, the latter may claim the life of her sons for any sacrifice. This is certainly not democracy. The Rights of Man here fade away into the supreme and absolute Right of the Nation. Whether it was stated in the lofty moral code of Fichte, whether it inspired Körner and the other young poets of Germany in their patriotic songs, or lurked dimly in the savage resentment of the Spanish and Prussian peasantry against the French, the dominating force of European politics in the years 1808-1814 was essentially the same, namely, nationality.

Now, just as democracy supplied the energy which spurred the youth of France to arms in '93, so love of national independence nerved the men of Prussia to the unparalleled sacrifices of the War of Liberation of 1813, and banded Germany together for the overthrow of Napoleon. The impulse originating in Paris in '93 finally aroused at Madrid, Berlin, and Moscow, a patriotism equally intense, which drove back France within her historic limits. The conflict between these two principles, which, of course, are not necessarily hostile, determined the general trend of events in that first epoch of modern militarism, uniting for a time peoples with their governments and building up the European states to a strength never previously attained. It is noteworthy that the national principle during its death grapple with Napoleon suffered from the necessities of the case, namely, in being forced to accept the guidance of Austria. So skilfully did the Emperor Francis and his minister, Metternich, use their position at the middle of the political see-saw, that the reconstruction of Germany was in the main their work, and the resent-

(1) Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, Rede viii.

ment of the nationalists and democrats of Northern Germany at the almost complete failure of their hopes, determined the course of political events during the next generation. Democracy and nationality, embattled against one another in 1808-1814, were thenceforth allied forces, not only in Germany, but in the Italy of 1814-1859.

We may remark in passing that the restored Bourbons had so little confidence in the support of the French people that necessarily they reduced their army to a total not very much larger than that maintained by the "*ancien régime*," while the Hohenzollerns, having taken up the popular cause in 1813, were able to keep up a form of conscription which provided the basis for further extension in and after 1860.

The years 1814-1858 may be called the period of spontaneous action on the part of the allied forces of nationality and democracy, years fertile in illusions and romantic failures, which seem to have convinced two hard-headed statesmen, Cavour and Bismarck, that if nationality was to achieve her aim, she must disown the sister principle, so far as it was revolutionary, and rely on the aid of dynasties, diplomacy, and big battalions. A brief notice of the national movements which culminated in '48 will be necessary to a comprehension of the national principle in all its freshness and spontaneity.

It is to the thinkers of Italy that we must look for the intellectual hegemony of the new epoch. Fichte, Arndt, Körner, and Karl Müller had been the first intellectual champions of the national principle. Their work was continued by Mazzini, Gioberti, Balbo, and Mamiani. Though differing widely on many topics and the choice of means, these thinkers agreed in asserting the indefeasible right of the Italian people to freedom from Austrian rule and security against interventions by the "white coats." Mazzini's writings, speeches, and actions alike testify to the close connection between nationality and democracy which characterized that epoch. In the "Young Europe Association" of 1834 we have his creed clearly defined in these two important articles: "The free exercise of the faculties of the individual may in no case violate the rights of others. The special mission of each man must be accomplished in harmony with the general mission of humanity. There is no other limit to human liberty." And again, "Every people has its special mission, which will coöperate towards the fulfillment of the general mission of humanity. That mission constitutes its nationality. Nationality is sacred."¹

In Mazzini's creed we feel his passionate conviction as to the equal

(1) Mazzini's collected works (Eng. ed., vol. iii., p. 31).

sanctity of the individual, and of the national, life. True to his faith in the liberty of the individual, he rejected any form of organization which, while promoting the cause of Italian unity, menaced civil liberty for the future. The duty of the individual to sacrifice all his freedom of action for the welfare of the nation, though passionately asserted by Fichte and successfully applied by Scharnhorst and later by Von Roon, was ever repudiated by the Italian seer, and his refusal to adopt forceful methods of organization may certainly be assigned as one cause of his many failures. Other Italian thinkers pleaded no less earnestly that national union should be effected, if possible, by the hearty and spontaneous action of all their kinsmen. The mystic Gioberti, who foretold the advent of a reforming Pope to be the spiritual head of a free Italian Federation, deprecated a policy of compulsory unification in these remarkable words, "To suppose that Italy, divided as she has been for so many centuries, can peacefully submit to the rule of one man, is mere folly. To desire that it should come about by violent means, is a crime."¹ Even the more practical thinkers of Turin, who looked solely to the House of Savoy as the hope of Italy, never openly asserted that the Gordian Knot of the Italian question must be severed by the sword,—at least, not by the French sword. Even in Count Mamiani's essay, "D'un nuovo Diritto Europe" (Turin, 1859), the early idealism of the Italian movement inspires such statements as the following, "We Italians have, indeed, been divided by fortune so as to forget our origin, but now it revives in our mind full of grace, radiant as the sweet memories of a youthful age."

Tender and idyllic, indeed, is the glow which suffuses the Italian movement in those early days, when it was sneeringly described by an English politician as the poetry of politics. Sentiment and the glamour of romance blinded the youth of Italy, especially in the spring of '48, when for a brief space the monarchists of Turin, republicans who conspired with Mazzini, and the lazzaroni of Naples, alike believed that Pio Nono would bless the national movement for the expulsion of the hated foreigners from the Quadrilateral.

"The Cross surmounted the Italian flag :
 From highest to lowest there was but one heart
 In those bright days, one cloudless hope in God,
 One trust in one another uttermost,
 One sacrament supreme of life or death."

(1) Gioberti, *Il Primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, p. 55 (ed. of 1844).

If, as Mazzini proclaimed, Italy could have become one in the white heat of sentiment, if she could have overthrown her foe by the majesty of a national demonstration, she would have achieved it in March, 1848. But the union of hearts was a delusion. The assertion of the majesty of the people's will only proved its weakness for united action or a protracted effort, and our gifted poetess who looked forth from the windows of Casa Guidi expressed the yearning desire of all intelligent Italians in the words,

"Rise up, leader ! Here's a crowd
To make a nation."

A criticism no less true and trenchant than that of Mrs. Browning, was somewhat later passed by the stalwart Junker statesman of Brandenburg, on the equally spasmodic and ineffectual efforts for liberty and unity made by his countrymen in those same years. Certainly, if enthusiasm and oratory could have unified Germany, her thirty-nine states would have become indissolubly one in 1848. But the difficulties there were as indissoluble by spontaneous and peaceful action as those inherent in the Italian movement, and history has, on the whole, endorsed the criticism of Bismarck on the lucubrations of the Vor Parliament of Frankfurt. "It is not by speechifying and majorities that the great questions of the time will have to be decided,—that was the mistake in 1848 and 1849,—but by blood and iron." The last phrase (adapted from Schiller's play of "The Robbers") has been generally quoted apart from its context so as to give an erroneous impression of its meaning. The sentence conveys a brutally frank statement of the causes of past failure, and the need of military organization, if Austrian supremacy was ever to be broken. The policy of Bismarck was essentially the same as that of Cavour. Both were ardent nationalists, though they differed widely in method. The constitutionalist statesman of Turin and the parliament tamer of Berlin, keenly realizing the impotence of revolutionary or demagogic methods to carry the national cause to victory, resolved thenceforth to gain for it a superiority of force by a close alliance with their respective monarchies. The determination of King William to strengthen Prussia against all eventualities, and the resolve of Bismarck to carry out his master's military policy, for a time obscured the issues which were at stake in Berlin. The aim of the king and still more that of the "German Strafford" were, however, distinctly national. Prussia was to save Germany, and the Prussian monarchy was to save Prussia, in spite of her parliament. The autocratic methods employed to force the army

bill on successive chambers seemed to the Prussian liberals to augur only a recurrence to the worst days of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. In reality, a stringent conscription was the only possible means of securing any approach to an effective unity of the fatherland; and the truth was at last revealed by the lightning flash of Königgrätz. The following confession of faith made by Bismarck to the Reichstag (July 9, 1869) sufficiently proves the strength of the conviction which had carried him through all the storms of parliamentary opposition: "From the very commencement of my career, my sole guiding-star has been the unification of Germany; and, that being achieved, the strengthening and completion of her unity, so that it may for ever be preserved, and with the good will of all concerned."

Whether the life of Germany and of Italy would not today be freer and nobler, if the methods employed in their unification in 1859-1870 had been less forceful, must ever remain open to question. The fact remains that the means employed in 1848 had utterly failed. The moral suasion of orators, the lectures of philosophers, the pæans of poets, had served only to originate a popular impulse, never to carry it through to a final triumph. The idealism of Fichte, Arndt, and Körner had ended amidst the disappointments of 1851 and of the political reaction that followed. The dreams of Gioberti, the manifestos and conspiracies of Mazzini, even the exploits of Garibaldi, when these were not guided by a statesman, had but led up to the sublime failures of 1848-9 at Rome and Venice. The war of the peoples having failed to secure any durable results, was it not time to abandon these fruitless methods, to rally these impressionable crowds around some firm nuclei, to unite them with the cause of the most patriotic princes? And, in regard to methods, were not despairing patriots and their new leaders justified in falling back upon those consecrated by experience, namely, skilful bargains and alliances? In a word, was it not prudent to trust to the big battalions, seeing that mere enthusiasm had failed? Such were the views of the leading nationalist statesmen of Sardinia and Prussia. Their hostility to Austria as the chief enemy to any effective national unity ultimately bound their states in the mutually helpful alliance of 1866.

And yet the momentous political results achieved in 1866 and 1870 have been grievously impaired by the very methods which were almost of necessity used to gain them. Apart from the material losses involved by war and the resulting armed peace, other sacrifices have been incurred, sacrifices that elude the calculations of the statistician, but are destructive of the joy which might have crowned a spontaneous reunion of long divided peoples.

A popular impulse, which aimed at grouping the German and Italian peoples in comprehensive commonwealths, has gained its end only by methods which have been fatal to the essentially ideal character of the movement. The very life of the national instinct lies in the ineradicable longing of the human heart for close fellowship with men of the same race; and such an instinct suffers almost as deeply when fellowship is compulsorily brought about as family affection would be impaired by a forcible attempt at union. The coming together must be spontaneous or the fellowship is constrained and awkward. It is true there was a temporary enthusiasm for the Italian union when Garibaldi, with sublime effacement of self, laid Naples at the feet of his king. But, on the other hand, joy at the acquisition of the central duchies was dampened by the loss of Savoy and Nice; Venetia came to "la patria" mainly as a result of the Prussian victory of Königgrätz; and, as for Rome, it was gained, after the withdrawal of the French troops, by the *bersaglieri* battering in the Porta Pia. Was there ever a more prosaic finale to so rapturous a prelude?

Acribus initiis, ut ferme talia, incuriosa fine, was the sardonic verdict of Tacitus on a projected reform of the old empire; and such must be the feeling of all, who, after drinking in the teaching of Mazzini that the liberation of a people must proceed from within, yet have seen the end achieved by diplomatic bargains, by barterings of territory, by the sacrifice of Victor Emmanuel's daughter at the marriage altar, and by the dextrous storing up and application of superior force. The noblest Italian patriots were idealists and abhorred mere expediency. In their view the Rome of the Cæsars, the Rome of the Popes, was to initiate a new life for Europe by holding aloft the banner of civic duty, the liberation of Italy thenceforth bringing richer and fuller elements into the life of humanity. Alas! It has not enriched even the life of Italy. The Peninsular is no nest of singing birds as England was in the days of Elizabeth after repelling foreign invaders. The reason for the difference is clear. A sensitive southern race, whose noblest sons had vainly longed and striven after union, finally had it achieved for them by external methods and to some extent by foreign armies.

The consummation of German unity was satisfactory to the national pride, but it brought to the national life gains that strangely marked the character of the race. A dreamy, rather unpractical people had long been struggling towards union. Her seer-philosopher had foretold the rise of a German commonwealth; of it her poets had sung; for it her volunteers had bled, and her orators had perorated. Suddenly the movement became intensely practical; the Prussian army was nearly doubled,

in spite of the protests of parliament and people, and in the midst of the enthusiasm of triumph over the French, princes and people declared for unity. But when the smoke of battle cleared away, the South Germans found that the marriage with the North, effected under the strenuous influence of Mars, lacked the grace and harmony which hallow a longer wooing blest by the birds of love and peace.

As matters now stand, compulsion exercised from without is one of the chief forces that hold together the German Empire. This pressure is felt both on her western and eastern frontiers. That on the west results from the quiet but none the less persistent resentment of France after the loss of her French speaking subjects in Lorraine. To do him justice, Bismarck always saw that the annexation of Metz and the purely Gallic population around would ultimately prove an embarrassment to the German Reichsrath. When the terms of peace between France and Germany were being discussed in February, 1871, he told his secretary, Busch, that he demurred to the annexation of Metz and its environs: "I do not want such a number of Frenchmen in our country against their will. * * * But the soldiers will not forego Metz, and perhaps they are right."¹ Once more, military considerations intervened to warp what might, perhaps, have otherwise been a satisfactory settlement on strictly racial lines. Bismarck, always a nationalist at heart, would have limited German Lothringen to the "Sprachgrenze," just as in 1866 he brought all his powers of persuasion to bear on King William to refrain from annexing parts of Bohemia and thus irretrievably wounding Austrian susceptibilities. But the military tool, which he had helped to forge in the conflict years, 1860-1866, was now too strong and keen to be touched. The soldiers had their way and the annexation of purely French districts left the new republic incurably hostile to the new empire.

The pressure from the east is even more serious. It is due ultimately to the crystallization of Russian national sentiment in an enormous armed force. This, again, resulted from the profound impression caused by the triumphs of the German citizen army in 1870. Despite the already large numbers of the Russian forces, Alexander I. and his advisers had recourse in 1873 to the system of universal military service determined by lot. In one sense this may be considered as part of the national and reforming policy of that Tsar. Certainly such a measure would have been impossible in the days of serfdom. Just as Stein's decrees for the emancipation of the Prussian serfs formed a needful preliminary to the system of conscription definitely adopted in 1813, so, too,

(1) Busch, *Our Chancellor*, vol. ii., p. 75 (Eng. edit.).

the modern national army of Russia became a possibility after the emancipating edict of 1862. In another sense the spread of national methods of defence eastwards from Paris to Berlin and thence, after a longer interval to St. Petersburg, has been fraught with evil both to Russia and to Europe. It has imposed on the Muscovite peasants, as they struggled up the thorny road that leads from tutelage to individual responsibility, burdens which their churlish climate and meagre resources unfit them to bear even in the best years. In the worst years conscription and the resulting heavy taxes entail death and misery that form the chief feeders of Nihilism.

The effect on Europe has been equally regrettable. When, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, Bismarck helped the other powers to revise the San Stefano Treaty drawn up in accord with Slavophil aims, the friendly relations existing since 1863 between the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin speedily underwent a change. Gratitude for help in the suppression of the Polish rebellion was forgotten in resentment at the check dealt to the Slav programme in the Balkan Peninsula by the Congress and Treaty of Berlin. True, Bismarck did not altogether favor Great Britain and Austria, but neither did he uphold Russia's claims in the Balkans, and Russia has never forgotten or forgiven the part which the "honest broker" played in bringing about a compromise detested by every Slavophil patriot. The spread of Slav influence to the Ægean was stayed even in the hour of seeming triumph. Prince Czartoryski, the Polish patriot who so long served Alexander I., has described in his "Memoirs" the feelings that even at the beginning of the nineteenth century thrilled thoroughly the people of Russia at the thought of a southward conquering march to the Ægean and the Bosphorus: "Internal difficulties may from time to time have retarded her advance, but the spirit of Peter the Great still hovers over his empire, and his pitiless ambition lies at the bottom of every Russian heart."¹

National feeling, thwarted in 1878, has been the mainspring of governmental energy in Russia since that time. It has enabled her to tide over several periods of death and financial crisis, to defy the Nihilist and similar movements, and to bring to bear on European politics that quiet but terrible pressure which a huge army, an invulnerable territory, and an unswerving foreign policy can exert on the shifting movements of states dependent on parliamentary majorities. French loans have enabled her to arm to the teeth, to build strategic railways, and to construct a powerful navy. The results are patent to all the world, but, perhaps, few persons

(1) *Memoirs of Czartoryski*, vol ii., ch. i. (Eng. edit.).

have noticed that this immense growth of warlike resources is due ultimately to the spread eastwards of the national idea and of the military system which revolutionary France was the first to adopt.

The government of the Tsars and that of the French Republic have naturally joined hands since the time when antipathy to Germany became the mainspring of their policy; and the continent of Europe now balances uneasily between the Triple and Dual Alliances, whose efforts to enhance the rigors of conscription have only sufficed to bring their armies to totals which, if figures may be trusted, imply that the game has ended virtually in stalemate.

It is needless to say that in Russia the increased severity of conscription and the growth of taxes that bear with undue weight on the peasant class have not led up to constitutional government. The obligation of military service has not gone hand in hand with the concession of manhood suffrage as happened with the North German Confederation of 1866 and the German Empire. The case of Russia, therefore, proves that there is no necessary connection between militarism and democracy, while it no less clearly reveals the solidarity that exists between nationality and militarism in their modern forms.

An examination of the course of events in France, Prussia, Italy, and Russia serves, then, to show that racial instincts or antipathies brought about most of the great wars of the nineteenth century, and have left as their heritage the huge citizen armies of today. Nationality has been the fighting creed of the modern world. That democracy provided the popular impulse which sent the sons of revolutionary France thronging to the tricolor flag, can be denied by no careful inquirer; but I would venture to suggest that the able author of "Democracy and Liberty" would have attained a more satisfactory method of inquiry if, instead of considering modern citizen armies as a result of the democratic spirit of the age, he had correlated them with the other great formative impulse of European life. As to there being any close connection between universal conscription and the desire of the powers to exploit the unclaimed lands of Africa or Oceanica, that suggestion seems to the present writer even more unsatisfactory. It might be argued with more reason that the rush for foreign markets is a result of the financial exhaustion and the prohibitive fiscal systems which have naturally accompanied the maintenance of enormous armaments. That militarism has led back to protection is clear to any student of recent international economics, and modern protection has necessitated a rush for "plantations" as keen as that which characterized the older mercantile system.

If the evidence passed under review seems to rebut some of Mr.

Lecky's assertions, still less does it favor Mr. Morley's suggestion: "We can be sure that the retrograde military phase through which the modern world is now passing, must be due to other influences than those belonging to democracy as a mere form of government, and must have its root in the hidden and complex working of those religious and scientific ideas which at all times have exercised a preponderating influence upon human institutions and their working."¹

On the contrary, the German and Italian national movements and the vast armies which are their outcome, reveal the impotence of religious motives throughout the years 1848-1871. From the day of April, 1848, when Pio Nono forbade his subjects to join in the national crusade, religion in Italy has yielded place in the political sphere to racial sentiments. Even at the very centre of faith, religion though armed with all the powers of clerical discipline, has been powerless to check the national aspirations of the Italian people, and the war of 1870 further proved that the Roman Catholics of South Germany had no reluctance to fight side by side with their northern Protestant brethren against the eldest son of the church. As to the action of Physical Science, it may be granted that her aid has been effectively invoked by the best organized states; but at most Science only provided the tools of war. She did not kindle the political aspirations which made war inevitable. The motives of warlike preparations must, at least in this age, be sought in the aspirations and passions which sway the masses of mankind. Indeed, many observers have expressed the hope that the increasing efficacy of the means of destruction will prove to be the *reductio ad absurdum* of militarism.

One other hopeful consideration may serve to close this article. If the conscription has been rendered possible by patriotism; if it was, perhaps, the necessary means of attaining national unity, can it be considered essential to its preservation? The answer of every unbiased and intelligent inquirer must be in the negative. What are the questions now in dispute in Europe? Alsace-Lorraine (or to speak more accurately, the French speaking part of Lothringen), Nice, and Tunis; the Slavonic questions, these are the chief questions of the Balkan Peninsular, which keep the continent under arms. Are they sufficiently important to keep Europe under the burdens of a peace which is almost as intolerable as war? The Gallicizing of Nice, the Germanization of Alsace and part of Lothringen, will peacefully solve two of these questions. What of the others? Does Italy need any more African colonies, or would

(1) Mr. John Morley's article in *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1896.

she profit by them, when the *pellagra* is endemic in the richest ports of Lombardy? Would Russia be any stronger if she gained hold over the people of the Balkans, who, since 1885, have resented external interference?

These, however, are questions for continental statesmen to decide. The present writer has endeavored to show that the militarism of this age has been the outcome of national movements which, however unsatisfactorily, attained their consummation in the wars of 1859-1878. It is a result of the past. It has no vital connection with the present conditions of human life. Nationality, which loomed so large in the days of Kossuth and Mazzini, is fast losing its hold on the popular imagination. As Signor Crispi significantly said in the Italian Chamber of Deputies (May 4, 1894): "The world is progressing, and the question of nationality now has no longer the same importance that it had forty years ago. Humanitarian questions are more and more replacing national questions. Foreign policy cannot be regarded as it was by Mazzini in 1834."

That is emphatically true. No one is so conscious of its truth as Signor Crispi, the Garibaldian volunteer of 1860, the ex-minister of 1896. Nationality, except, perhaps, in the Balkan Peninsular, has all but achieved its aims in Europe. As in the life of individuals, so in that of nations, certain ideas or principles have their epoch of growth, attain their full efficacy, and wane before other forces. First among the impulses which have moulded the destinies of Europe, since the passionate rising of the Spaniards in 1808, must be reckoned that of nationality. It has built up the European system of states to a solidity never known since the days of ancient Rome. But the exhaustion consequent on vast and apparently unending effort is sapping the life of the nations, which henceforth will look to other principles of action. As this conviction deepens, it will inevitably be discovered that a vast citizen army is a meaningless relic of a bygone age.

PESTALOZZI'S IDEA REALIZED

F. AUGUST FOREL

CHIGNY

UNDER the pseudonym of "Emlohstobba" (the anagram of Abbotsholme), Dr. Hermann Lietz made the following remarks in the year 1897 concerning the present school system of Germany. "Honored readers of both sexes! Did the school in which you were trained give you the education that subsequent experience has proved to be the most appropriate to the requirements of your life? And are you yourselves rearing your children in such a way as to strengthen their character and to prepare them for the maximum effort of which each is capable according to his individual nature? Do these children never return and complain to you of unintelligible Latin exercises, of distressing hours passed on the school benches, do they never bring back translations or dictations covered with blue pencil marks, tasks copied until late in the evening, do they never suffer from headaches that sadden the home? In the presence of such experiences has there never occurred to you this thought? Does there not exist some school which is rid of all these instruments of infantile torture, a school in which no profession is made of merely cultivating the intellect, that is to say, of deforming it by irrational exercises, but one in which the aim is to develop harmoniously the totality of physical and psychical forces, the arm, the leg, the eye, the ear, the muscles, the body and the soul considered as a whole, unique in the workings of its æsthetic and moral functions? Or will the thought of an harmonious development of all the human functions remain ever the magnificent but Utopian dream of a Pestalozzi?"

A year later, in 1898, the Viennese journal, "Die Wage," started an investigation as to the results of the secondary schools ("Mittelschulen"), "gymnasien," and industrial schools, and their possible reform. Set forth by university professors, this investigation was one of fine oratorical effect, but, if you will excuse my lack of respect, it was effort wasted. Always the same arguments for or against classical studies; nothing positive, not even in words. Doubtless, the ancient Greeks were a people of genius, from whom we still derive intellectual food, but it is not by making our children massacre their grammar and by stupefying them with the irregularities of their verbs that we shall imbue them with the Greek spirit! How the ancient Greeks would laugh if they could see the way in which we inculcate their ideas and their language into our youth!

What is the aim of the school? People are very wrong if they still

think it is to accumulate in the heads of the children as much knowledge as can possibly be acquired, first by the aid of the memory and later by the understanding. This is a great error which certainly must be corrected. The aim of the school is to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the child's brain that are in process of formation. Now these faculties are so indissolubly united to one another, that if attention be paid exclusively to one, a wrong is done to the others and consequently to the very one that it is sought to develop.

In its mode of action the brain presents three principal groups.

1. The intellect or understanding, which combines sensations and perceptions, making pictures of them by the aid of the memory, and abstract notions, by the aid of spoken or written words.

2. Sentiments or states of consciousness, which give vague notes of pleasure or pain, either local, physical, or internal, and general sentiments properly so called. These notes are diversified as they become refined through their association with intellectual elements.

3. The will, which translates into determinations and acts the workings of the intellect and the sentiments, while at the same time exerting a reflex action upon them. Our acts call forth fresh perceptions and fresh sentiments.

Developing harmoniously and wisely these three groups of cerebral activity, the school should aim to form for our human society, not persons one-sided in their knowledge, who too often are intellectual failures or rather are failures by reason of their idiocy of sentiment and will, but men and women that are likely to be useful, good, and active, capable of battling in the struggle for existence without requiring much from others and themselves producing a great deal for their country. So, then, the school should act at the same time upon the will and sentiment as well as upon the intellect.

Of course children differ greatly and the school cannot make a model of virtue of an hereditary criminal or a man of genius of an imbecile. But the question of heredity and of human selection does not concern us here. The school must individualize and draw out of each given variety of brain whatever it can furnish. The teacher should, then, above all, be a good pedagogue and a good psychologist, and not an erudite man or a pedant. Consequently we must begin by giving a pedagogical training to the teachers, and for this purpose we must not only study Rousseau and the great pedagogues like Pestalozzi, in whom the lack of practical administrative faculties did not at all impair the profound exactness of his ideas, but we must also steep ourselves in the study of the psychology and the physiology of childhood, before calling for administrative decrees for the schools.

If we wish to obtain a useful development of the brain of the child, we must put ourselves at his service as his friend and comrade, and not as a dominating tyrant to be feared and hated. Discipline is to be obtained not by punishment, but by affection and reason. The teaching and the school must attract the child, he must like it and be interested in it. We must call forth his questions and answer them instead of checking them. The child is not to be adapted to the school, but the school to the child. We shall see that this adaptation is possible under certain conditions. The brain fixes itself naturally upon all that enlists its sympathy; it then learns without difficulty and with profit. On the other hand, it is intractable to what it does not understand and does not like. It is either worn out by vain endeavors to learn such matters, or learns merely words which are devoid of sense and from which it derives no profit. This barren teaching is the bane of our schools and with it we have to contend.

As we said in our article on human perfectibility, the human encyclopædia is increasing in an alarming fashion, but our brains have grown no larger in the past two thousand years. It is chimerical, then, to seek to accumulate in the brain an increasing number of facts and formulæ; this can be done only to the detriment of the judgment, the sentiment, the will, the imagination, and all that makes for the harmony of the soul. Formulæ, dates, and all that is a mere matter of mechanical memorizing should be relegated to the dictionaries and other encyclopædias which one consults at pleasure but which one does not learn. Except for the merest elements (the alphabet, the multiplication table, etc.), the memory should be carefully saved for the storing up of logical series and for object lessons, all of which should be learned by heart as a result of an act of the will, and yet unconsciously through attention excited by interest and emulation, while the conscious attention is directed upon the sense and not upon the terms, that is, upon the form.

Having said this, let us note that the brain in its natural development passes from the concrete to the abstract and from the individual to the general. It is, then, absurd and unnatural to proceed in the opposite direction and to burden the heads of little children with words, formulæ, rules, and other abstractions, which they do not at all understand. It is barren labor and is lost both to the teacher and to the pupil.

Logically, the first years should be given up to lessons dealing with visible and tangible things, as well as to matters of technical skill. Let there be no words whose sense is beyond the child. He must learn to know natural objects and works of art by their name, their purpose and their employment, animals, plants, and their *anatomy* through practical

demonstration, minerals, metals, etc., and their daily use, the geography of the surroundings of his town and village, the story of the lives of men of national importance. He must be taught a good, plain handwriting, all useful physical exercises, the practical elements of the arts and trades, singing and drawing without their theory. He must be trained to read nothing without understanding it and to comprehend clearly the elements of arithmetic. To bring this about, the teacher must live the life of his pupils, must think with them, instruct them during walks; and above all the child must learn in school and not through tasks given him to be done at home. Languages are to be learned in the inception by practice and not through the study of the grammar, so there must be no teaching of national history, of geography, or of grammar, and no analytical work, until much later, when, familiar with objects and terms, the child will of himself reach the point of desiring to understand the theory of things whose workings he has first learned by observation and intuition. At the same time there must be developed in the child a feeling for the good and the beautiful, by the selection of artistic and natural objects and authors of genius and feeling for his study, instead of the dry and lifeless compilations, devoid of imagination and of sentiment, so often used in our schools.

To succeed in all this, we must first change the course followed by the departments of public instruction and by the primary teaching staff, and improve the material position, the intellectual and moral level, and the social position of the latter. Certainly the human value of our children, which is identical with the value of the whole nation in the near future, is well worth this effort and this pecuniary sacrifice. I will even make bold enough to affirm that this question is much more important for the future of our country than are fiscal matters.

Another point. In the course of the investigation at Vienna, of which I have already spoken, when a speaker asked that pupils without talent be excluded from the gymnasium, Mme. Schlesinger said that she thought so difficult a question deserved deeper examination, and she requested the speaker to state his understanding of the matter. Thereupon Professor Bernatzik replied that Mme. Schlesinger's terrors were not justified in the least and that it was not difficult to discern whether or not a child had talent. Is it not distressing to hear a university professor respond so inconsiderately to a woman who puts to him a question full of sense! Do we not daily see gymnasium pupils strong in their school exercises, those talents so dear to their teachers, become later withered fruits or utter failures? I have myself seen an idiot, a typical case of congenital imbecility, whom I should have put under a guardian and

locked up, pass through a brilliant baccalaureate course, thanks to his memory and to his receptive faculties! And, on the other hand, pupils of real talent, even geniuses, are frequently repulsed and overcome by the methods of our "gymnasien," which they pass through only with great difficulty, in which they sometimes even fail, and must ultimately make their way by other means, if they are not entirely repulsed and destroyed. No, it is not easy to divine the real faculties of a child or to calculate beforehand his future development, to distinguish between memorizing powers or precocious maturity and the germ of a useful man, nay, even of a man of talent or of genius. Who, then, will do the sorting out when all success in the gymnasium depends upon memorizing ability and a rapid power of assimilation, that is to say, upon faculties which after all are very inferior? No, we need something quite different. We must undertake a study of the psychology of childhood and go to school to the child.

Are schemes of reform the Utopias of idealists, as Pestalozzi and Froebel have often been called, or may these ideas be realized? Well, they can be realized, and have been realized, consequent upon the efforts of Pestalozzi and his emulators, which had no definite results at a time that was not yet ripe for such ideas.

The first modern school, based systematically on the principles of a rational pedagogy such as I have just outlined, was founded a few years ago by Dr. Reddie at Abbotsholme in England. To this school there came to teach German a Dr. Hermann Lietz, a German pedagogue, the son of a landowner of the island of Rügen; he had completed his studies in theology and philosophy, taking advantage of his vacations to improve the property of his old parents and doing all the farm work himself; he was an idealist endowed with a will of iron, and with a physical and moral energy of Herculean proportions. He came to Abbotsholme to teach German, reorganized the general system of teaching, and returned to Germany to found at Pulvermühle, near Ilseburg in the Harz district, an Abbotsholme according to his own ideas. Let us say right now, in view of the importance of the question, that this rude and quick witted nature, with the qualities of the peasant of the Danube, this compound of energy, kindness, and idealism, has a horror of all sexual excess and seeks to ward off from childhood all erotic thoughts by keeping the children constantly occupied, inuring them to hard work and corporeal exercise, and suppressing all curiosity and feelings of false shame. He has had entire success. Personal experience and the sight of alcoholic excesses in students also decided Dr. Lietz, then a student himself, to abstain from alcohol and to join the Anti-Alcohol League, which had

just been founded at Berlin. He thus knew well the advantages of total abstinence from alcoholic beverages, and, remaining none the less faithful to his principle of unconstrained education, he introduced it into the habits of his schools, not as something compulsory but natural.

Dr. Lietz gave to his school the name of "Deutsches Landerziehungsheim" (D. L. E. H.), which freely translated is "A German Rural Educational Home." Teachers and pupils are considered as *citizens* ("Bürger") of the Home, that is to say, of the school. By these terms Dr. Lietz has sought to dignify from the very outset the idea of labor in common between masters and pupils and to remove all barriers between them. The fundamental principles of his teaching are: a regular and busy life from the moment of rising to that of retiring, physical labor and exercise alternated with intellectual labor, liberty, responsibility, and the collaboration of the pupils in the whole organization and discipline of the school, frequent excursions intended for interesting instruction, no examinations, abundant wholesome food, sufficient time for sleep, inuring to the inclemency of the weather by a progressive system of training. There are daily exercises in the arts, drawing from nature, modeling, vocal and instrumental music, the study of works of art, dramatic performances, and concerts. All coercive means are suppressed, and there is no punishment and reward which does not emanate of itself quite naturally from its own object.

The teaching of the sciences is conducted according to the laws of pedagogy, arousing the interest of the pupil by an apprenticeship and by object lessons, showing him how to observe, think, judge, and compare exactly and logically. At Haubinda the children are often seen learning of their own accord and for their amusement the poems that have been read to them. Thus it is that through interest and comprehension the memory is best and most usefully developed. The plan of studies corresponds particularly to that of an industrial school and mathematical gymnasium, combined with that of a remodeled elective gymnasium.

The teaching of languages is carried on by means of conversation, practical exercises, reading, impromptu composition, and singing in the language to be learned. All that is wearisome and distasteful, especially dictations and themes, is banished from this training, which is given by masters who teach their native language. The vocabulary and the syntax are learned incidentally, as the pupils speak and read. Authors of genius are chosen and from them is taken all that stimulates to noble thoughts and disinterested action. By dialogues with teachers, pupils learn to express themselves orally and to discuss. By composing freely on the subjects discussed, they acquire a style in writing.

The walls of the Home are everywhere ornamented with works of art. A very complete Froebel collection serves for the object lessons. Nature, establishments, factories, journeys, and walks serve likewise as objects of study.

There are evening debating parties ("Debatirabende"), which take place in winter and at which some subject or other (this subject may be suggested by a pupil) is put forward for discussion in such a way as to bring about a free exchange of ideas between pupils and teachers.

Very characteristic are the certificates which the D. L. E. H. gives thrice a year to the relatives to indicate to them the results obtained. They are represented by the following notation, which is, so to speak, a system of psychological and practical notes:—

A INDIVIDUAL SCALE.	B NORMAL SCALE (Practical Results).
1. Agreeing always and entirely with the pupil's ability.	1. Very good. <i>Ib.</i> Good.
2. In general agreeing rather well with the pupil's ability.	2. Satisfactory. <i>Ib.</i> Fairly satisfactory.
3. Agreeing rarely and slightly with the pupil's ability.	3. Hardly satisfactory.
4. Not agreeing at all with the ability of the pupil.	4. Not at all satisfactory.

The report is thus divided wherever possible into these two parts (A, relating to the pupil's possibilities and B, to the result expected from a normal pupil), and the results are further divided as follows:—

I. PHYSICAL RESULTS.

Health, ailments, weight, dexterity, walking, running, swimming, cycling, games, gymnastics, wrestling.

II. BEHAVIOR.

With regard to exterior, order, neatness, condition of copy-books, punctuality.

III. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS RESULTS.

(a) Behavior with respect to, 1, his relatives (correspondence), 2, his teachers, 3, the other pupils, 4, other persons, 5, himself.

(b) Veracity, zeal, and sentiment of duty, fidelity in the administration of his property and of what is entrusted to him, trustworthiness, conscientiousness, feeling of solidarity and unselfishness.

(c) Strength of, 1, moral sentiment, 2, moral comprehension, 3, moral will.

IV. INTELLECTUAL RESULTS.

(a) Practical work (manual). Gardening, work in the fields, carpentry, lathe work, locksmith work, and forge work.

(b) Art. Modeling, drawing, writing, elocution, declamation, singing, instrumental music.

(c) Attainments. (a) The Humanities. These are chiefly divided into, 1, morals, 2, religion, 3, history, 4, German, 5, English, 6, French, 7, Latin, and 8, Greek (if these two be required), 9, civic and legal matters, 10, sociology. (b) Physics, mathematics, and natural science. 1, geography, 2, natural history, 3, physics, 4, chemistry, 5, arithmetic, 6, algebra, 7, geometry, 8, trigonometry and analytical geometry, 9, hygiene, 10, bookkeeping.

To these subjects will be added those of two upper classes now in process of establishment.

V. GENERAL RESULTS.

1. Force of character.
2. Strength of body.
3. Force of intellect.
4. Strength of powers of observation.
5. Force of imagination.
6. Strength of reasoning powers.
7. Value of practical results.
8. Value of artistic results.
9. Value of scientific results.

The aim of the school is, then (I quote the words of Dr. Lietz), "To train the children entrusted to one in such a way as to make of them harmonious and independent characters, sound and strong of body and soul, practical and skilful with their hands, capable from the literary, scientific, and artistic point of view, able to think clearly and logically, with warm feelings, and with a strong and courageous will."

A fair ideal, you will say to me, but what are the results? Too short a time has elapsed to permit of definite results. Nevertheless, what has been obtained thus far may rightly fill us with confidence for the future and with gratitude for the noble and courageous initiators of the work. Dr. Lietz himself said when beginning: "It is an experiment."

On April 28, 1898, as we said, he made a start on his farm at Pulvermühle with six pupils. He soon had sixteen of them, from eight to sixteen years old. Toward the end of 1900 the school numbered eighty

pupils. The accommodations were too small, and Dr. Lietz, leaving at Ilsenburg the lower classes under the direction of Dr. Winecken, bought, with the faith of an idealist and without the necessary means, the immense farm of Haubinda in the forest of Thuringia, near Hildburghausen (one thousand, three hundred and sixty acres). He transferred his school here at Easter in 1901, installing it provisionally in the country houses, and recently he has built a large schoolhouse.

During these three years and a half, the school has made numerous journeys, largely on bicycles, sleeping in the open air, visiting towns and villages, and deriving profitable instruction from all things. It has thus visited the school of Abbotsholme in England, the Paris Exhibition, and Switzerland. Entire classes almost equal to an industrial school, with pupils of from eight to eighteen or nineteen years, have already been instituted one after the other. Haubinda has at present about ninety pupils, thirteen teachers, and two assistant teachers. The pupils have taken part in all the works, removing earth, building, gardening, tilling, gathering in the crops, and even in writing a large part of the printed reports about the school and of the journeys described in them.

As I was returning recently from Berlin, I went to visit Haubinda, where, seven or eight months before, I had placed my sixteen-year old son.

Haubinda (Sachsen-Meiningen) is situated in an out of the way region, far from all centres, distant even from the few villages of the district, in the midst of the forest lands and the fields of Thuringia.

I had sent word of my coming, and on reaching the station of Simmershausen, I met my son, as tawny as an Iroquois, upon his head the red cap of the D. L. E. H., waiting for me with a carriage. He was driving alone for the first time in his life, in a rather primitive vehicle, for it was at the height of harvest time when everything else was in use. We arrived, at the end of about an hour, in sight of Haubinda. I saw a man of medium height, but with a frame of Herculean strength, wearing a straw hat, a pair of drawers, and a pair of sandals, and nothing else. He advanced toward our team and my son said to me: "This is Dr. Lietz." A little farther on I perceived a band of young "Indians," dressed like the doctor, harvesting a field of wheat with a zeal that delighted one's heart. They were a squad of pupils of the D. L. E. H. Although prepared for this sight by my reading of the reports of the school and by the accounts of my son, and although I had traveled in many rather savage parts of the world, I must say that the impression which this scene made upon me was profound and striking in its simplicity, and did me an indescribable amount of good. Yes, it is one thing to read, but quite another to see and feel.

I was taken into the room where I was to lodge. My son did me the honors of the school, still provisionally housed in the old farm buildings utilized for the purpose.

A great temporary shed of planks, arranged like a canteen, serves as a dining-room and as a kitchen. The classes are distributed through the two buildings; the rooms contain the pupils' desks. The dormitories are picturesquely arranged wherever there is room. The beds are simple, but healthy and good. By way of luxury there are seen hanging on the walls the "Ile des morts" of Boecklin and other artistic masterpieces. In my room is a piano that is used for music lessons. In an attic, near the roof, there are lined up the very primitive wardrobes of the pupils. Each one has around his bed family photographs or other objects of which he is fond. Everything is still in formation, in process of construction. The latrines are constructed of planks in an extremely simple way, but they are hygienic and very practical. One sees pupils going about everywhere often half naked, some going to a workshop, others stretched out on the grass and reading or working. One sees no group engaged in playing pranks or foolish tricks, or any of the useless and stupid jokes which people are pleased to call "the amusement of youth." This is a fact that has struck me from first to last at Haubinda. All spontaneous activity of the pupils so far as I have observed has some sensible end in view, even when there is nobody there to watch them.

My son shows me to a place five minutes distant from the farm. Here is a large basin which was in great part dug by the pupils and in which the whole school bathes every day. From here one sees on the height a large edifice in process of building. This structure, four stories high and surmounted by a belfry and a clock, is the new school-building.

Having returned from the harvest, Dr. Lietz, now wearing a blouse, takes me to his new building which he explains to me from cellar to belfry, climbing like a cat along ladders over which I have difficulty in following him. Everywhere air, light, and fine schoolrooms adapted for labor at once intellectual and hygienic. This building for modern studies, placed beside a forest and overlooking the old farm and the meadows, has in it something that recalls the pioneer of the far west of America; but the pioneer of the intellectual idea is now added to the pioneer of the material idea; therein is the difference.

At six o'clock the bell rings for supper and soon all are gathered into the dining-room. Teachers and pupils are seated together. At his table, Dr. Lietz has rather the air of a father distributing food to his children than that of a "director." The food is simple, but extremely wholesome and abundant. I am struck by the air of health and con-

tentment that is visible on the faces of all these children of eleven to sixteen years. There is not a single pale face; no one with a grumbling, blasé, vexed, or wearied air. On the other hand, health, vigor, and heartiness that I have never seen elsewhere in such entirety and harmony. The meal ends with a song.

Then almost all of the pupils go off, nearly naked (except for their drawers or tights), to play football in the meadow. The sight of the match is a veritable treat of dexterity and strength. All the muscles are brought into play. There is frantic leaping and running over the grass. All are naked down to the middle and from their thighs to their feet, so that one can observe at his ease the play of their muscles. Before, during, and after the match, a number of the pupils go to bathe *ad libitum* in the basin. The sight of these scenes reminds me of the nickname, "Boers," which the peasants of the vicinity of Ilsenburg have given to the citizens of the D. L. E. H.

At eight o'clock, by the light of a lantern, the whole school assembles on the grass at the foot of an avenue of lofty trees. After a chorus, sung by the pupils, Dr. Lietz conducts the religious service of the evening. This service is not the medley of religious verbiage and useless repetitions that one too often hears in such cases. Dr. Lietz reads a chapter of Hilty ("Kunst des Arbeiters") on work, and makes some applications of present interest. He shows that the constant search for comfort and ease is nothing but a progressive form of suicide on the part of man. Then he takes advantage of the new building in process of construction, going into details of the work upon it, and of the harvesting then going on, to point out to his auditors that work is life.

Doubtless people will now think that at the D. L. E. H. there is nothing but exercise of the muscles with a little idealism. Therefore it is my plan to follow the school-work on the next day from dawn.

I had to be called in the morning,—to my shame. At six o'clock, we were all at a frugal breakfast of milk and cocoa. At a quarter past six, I went to the English lesson of the "Obersecunda" (a class of pupils of about sixteen years of age). The principle is this: the teacher shows the pupils how to work by themselves; each lesson lasts forty-five minutes. The teacher reads slowly an interesting chapter in German, at the same time explaining and pronouncing the new words and the special turns of phrase of the English translation. The pupils write in English. When the chapter is ended, a pupil, as soon as he has finished, writes his translation on the blackboard. This translation is then analyzed by the teacher and the other pupils speak unprompted. The teacher speaks in English as much as possible, giving explanations in German, and the

various modes of translation are discussed. When a pupil has failed to understand any point, he raises his hand and questions the teacher. The pupils feel no embarrassment about questioning the teacher, who is thus constantly giving his service to the less intelligent of them.

After a substantial breakfast, at a quarter past seven, I attend the history lesson given by Dr. Lietz to the "Obersecunda." At the outset the pupils give an account of ancient Egypt, speaking freely about what they remember of the subject (the worship of the Egyptians, their material idea of the food of the gods, etc.). After this Dr. Lietz explains the religion of the Egyptians and seeks to interest his pupils by putting to them questions which occasion a didactic dialogue on the subject. He explains the history of the Egyptians by means of their ideas, by their conception of things and the world. In the first half of the lesson he questions the pupils about what he developed in the second half of the preceding lesson. In the second half, as he develops his subject, he puts questions suggestive in their nature and intended for the reflection of his auditors.

From eight to a quarter past eight, there is a pause during which the pupils go to make their beds.

At a quarter past eight I am present at the mathematical lesson of Dr. Nebel ("Obersecunda"). I am astonished to see a pupil who has been but seven months at the D. L. E. H., and who previously could develop nothing of himself, and at the very most could only recite like a parrot, carry out clearly and intelligently on the blackboard the calculation of a triangle. The teacher follows him, correcting him in a gentle fashion, as one friend helping another and without allowing the pupil to be haunted by any ulterior thought of success, examination, or punishment. The other pupils criticize the work with the teacher, and help to solve the problem by putting questions. In short, the whole class works together upon the development of the problem with an impressive attention.

From nine to a quarter past nine, there is a pause during which the pupils take recreation or busy themselves as they please. After this recess there is a French lesson ("Obersecunda"). The system is as before. They deal with the possessive and demonstrative pronouns, at the same time speaking in French. The teacher, a Frenchman, asks the pupils for examples, and they reply spontaneously. The whole class studies the question. A pupil confuses the pronouns and the adjectives. Instead of becoming angry or giving him a bad mark, the teacher makes him write the word on the blackboard and correct his mistakes by reflecting upon the nature of the pronoun. Every one takes an interest in the exercise; nobody laughs or yawns. Then a conversation is started on

coughing and all the French terms relating to it ("rhume," "coryza," "se moucher," etc.) are translated into German or rather are explained.

Another breakfast is served at ten o'clock. After breakfast there follows a lesson in chemistry ("Obersecunda"). A general summary of the metals and metaloids, the oxides, bases, hydroxides, anhydrides, and acids, the reaction of acids and alcalis. The same system of questions and replies between teachers and pupils is pursued. The practical experiments are performed in part by the pupils.

From half past eleven to one o'clock the pupils are free and do as they please; they bathe, go about on foot or on their bicycles, read, make observations in the fields, or do some gardening, each one as he sees fit. It is especially at this moment that I was able to observe the excellent spirit prevailing among them. There is no evidence of the slightest pressure from above; such a pressure is not apparent because it is replaced by a moral suggestion of a sympathetic kind, which imposes itself as a sort of "esprit de corps" upon the citizens of the D. L. E. H., who thus voluntarily feel their moral responsibility.

At one o'clock there begins an abundant and wholesome dinner, which closes with singing.

From two to half past four the manual work is carried on. The smaller boys (those that desire to do so, for, apart from general suggestion, everything is left to the individual will in the D. L. E. H.) go to work in the fields with Dr. Lietz (it was there that I surprised him the day before). The older boys generally go to various workshops, where each has his tools: some to the carpenter's shop, to make closets or other useful objects, others to the locksmith's shop, and still others to their garden. Everywhere there is a teacher of the trade, but the pupils work with a great deal of independence, each one trying to learn one or another trade on his own account and to perfect himself in it. Dr. Lietz has given to each of the more advanced pupils a plot of land, the produce of which belongs to him. If he cultivates it well, he can sell the produce to the D. L. E. H. Those who have the time and a liking for gardening do very well.

From half past four to six o'clock the classes are at work again, each one on his own account, without a teacher, under the supervision and with the aid of a *prefect*, who is one of the older and better qualified pupils. This prefect plays the part of a supervisor of order and behavior. The tasks to be performed during this time have been assigned by the teacher. The prefect is responsible for good order; even as he is watching over the class he is doing his own exercises. If he wishes, he may help the pupils who question him about their tasks; otherwise they ques-

tion their master later on. I have been struck by the perfect quiet and the studious spirit which reign in the classes that I have seen during this time. Each one works with interest and pleasure, striving out of a feeling of pure emulation to do the most and the best that he can. There is no compulsion upon him, however, for at six o'clock the tasks, finished or not, are brought to a close, and no punishment or censure will hang over the tardy one. But no one wishes to be behindhand, and the more intelligent take pride in helping the weaker, for such is the spirit of the Home and of its citizens. He who attempts to introduce into it a spirit of selfishness, of knavery, or of mockery is the object of contempt and general reprobation. Shunned, there is nothing left for him to do but to keep silent and be ashamed of himself, or to fall in line with the others. Moreover, there is not any time for such evils to creep in, for there are so many objects of study and emulation in the D. L. E. H., that the free hours are well taken up, even the free afternoon of Wednesday.

I had during my visit a discussion with a doctor, a very distinguished man, indeed, but one tainted with modern pessimism, who had strayed as far as the D. L. E. H. Only too much inclined to censure the enthusiastic and practical optimism of the Home, he set forth to me his theories which I know only too well, and after laying before me his doubts as to the possibility of thus uniting physical and intellectual work, he asked me whether I did not find some air of fatigue in the aspect of the pupils. In reply I began to laugh, and I pointed out to him how preconceived ideas and empty theories bring on mental blindness. The sight of this pessimistic doctor, who seemed to prefer annihilation to existence, absorbed in his melancholy, while all the pupils, full of life, of strength, and of lightheartedness, freed from the weight of examinations, of evening tasks, and of marks, were running about and amusing themselves with games that required dexterity, produced upon me the burlesque effect of a contrast, and excited my laughter. To be sure, he was sincere, frank, devoted, an idealist in his way, this excellent confrere of mine, and far be it from my thought to wish him ill; may he pardon me, then, but "*Grau, teurer Freund, ist alle Theorie, und grün des Lebens goldner Baum!*"

That evening, after supper and the choral exercise, Dr. Lietz asked me to give his pupils, as a sort of religious service, a talk on ants and their ways; and this I did in the open air under a great oak tree. After this talk, and on the next day, I was assailed with questions by a number of the pupils, who began to seek for ants and to observe them, a fresh confirmation of the results of the method of the D. L. E. H.

On August twenty-first I attended various other classes, in one of which Dr. Lietz explained Goethe's "Egmont," dealing with the characters of the heroes of the tragedy as the poet understood them and rendered them. Then I was present at a lesson in geometry conducted for the youngest pupils of the "Untertertia" by our friend, Mr. Zuberbühler, who had returned the evening before. Thanks to the vivid and clear method adopted by the teacher to interest his auditors and make them reflect, all worked together and the square described within the circle became a source of amusement. It was Wednesday and the afternoon was free. But Dr. Lietz gave fifty pfennig to each lad who came of his own accord to work at the harvesting.

Dr. Lietz is fully cognizant of the fact that at the age of the more advanced pupils manual and physical work should be gradually limited, and that more time should be devoted to the individual and spontaneous studies of each one. So his plans for future organization have been traced out with this idea in view. He desires to create a third school for older pupils, a school intended to prepare for higher studies.

After some long conversations with Messrs. Lietz, Zuberbühler, and Nebel, I left Haubinda on Thursday, August twenty-second, filled with admiration and gratitude for what I had seen, and persuaded that the true path of education, combined with teaching, had at last been attained. A rude breach has been made by a few energetic and devoted men, lighted by the torch of our immortal Pestalozzi, freed from old fashioned prejudices and from the halter of routine, aided by a knowledge of the human brain which, like the muscles, is fortified by a system of harmonious and consistent labor, and by a hygienic and moral life. It is enough now to perfect the details, following the road that has been opened and taking care not to fall back into the old ruts.

Can it be said that this development will go on easily and without a struggle? Ah! one would have to be a Utopian idealist blind to human weakness to think so. And first of all, the chief enemy of the reform is the egoism and the dogmatism of the teachers. Every one is not pleased to be the servant of children. To be such wounds the self-esteem and the vanity of every adult who instinctively rebels against the feeling that he is not the "master," the more or less sovereign and autocratic governor of his pupils, one inclined to overawe them rather than to make himself beloved by them. Then, too, he desires to have a different table, a different form of life, to be as far as possible from his pupils when outside of the class room, and it does not at all suit him to lead a life of continual labor with the pupils and to renounce his own ego. It is the teacher's egoism and his desire for comfort that must be combatted with all the

energy at our disposal. And it is his feeling of devotion that we should seek for particularly and cultivate.

The selection and education of teachers is, therefore, the great task that the new school will have to undertake. I say *selection* and *education*, because a combination of an egoist and a confirmed pedant will ever lack powers of adaptability, while many others, more pliant and capable of devotion, will succeed through education and habit, even though they be not born to the manner, provided they are constantly borne up by the organization of the school and by a good management. The teacher will have to be the good Samaritan of the children, the tender and loving nurse, not of patients, but of men in a state of formation. It is a noble, arduous, and exacting part to play, no doubt, but it will bring the satisfaction of being loved instead of being feared. In the normal schools for teachers it will be necessary to subject the candidates to practical tests as to their character, more important than the sum total of their attainments, if we wish to issue from the present wretched condition in which not one is concerned about the character or the behavior of the persons trained in the normal schools. A system of novitiate will have to be devised and established. But I am going too far afield. Let us return to Haubinda and to certain points of the school-life. I borrow a few observations from the excellent article of Mr. Ferrière, written for the "*Revue de Morale Sociale*" of June 10, 1901:—

Among the fundamental educational principles of Ilsenburg and of Haubinda, particular stress must be laid upon the individual liberty of the child and the progressive training which gives him physical endurance. The citizens of the D. L. E. H. of from ten to sixteen years of age are accustomed to have the window of their sleeping room open both winter and summer, to bathe in the Ilse after breaking the ice, to take bicycle trips, and to sleep in the open air. They gain thus a splendid health (there are no sick persons in the Home), an enviable degree of endurance and strength. Now, there is no compulsion. He who wishes to close his window, to wash himself in his tub, not to take part in the excursions, and to travel by the railroad is free to do so. Only it is a very slight minority that is not led on by the friendly and irresistible impulse given by Dr. Lietz and followed by the great body of the pupils. The new-comer, often pale, thin, and timid, cannot withstand the attractive and stimulating example that he sees about him; at first he hesitates, then he makes the attempt, and keeps on. In a short while his metamorphosis is accomplished. Affection, impulse, and liberty are the forces at work.

No more attention is paid to discipline than if the pupils were men

of twenty years of age, Mr. Ferrière writes when dealing with Ilseburg. This is strictly correct. I have myself seen in our universities students well over twenty years of age play pranks that I have not seen at Haubinda, where cordiality, joined to mutual human respect, constitutes a spontaneous and unrestrained form of discipline a hundred times superior to that of constraint. We know, moreover, that the more the pupil plays pranks, the more he is kept in check and under restraint.

The doings and movements of the pupils during the free hours are very picturesque. There is no sheepish imitation; there are no large bodies engaging in a prank for fear of "not doing as the others do." One takes a bath; another reads or studies, lying on the grass; a third takes a walk with a comrade and discusses matters with him; a fourth goes off on his bicycle; this pupil questions a teacher about one thing or another, while still others work in their garden or in their shop. This air of spontaneity and individualism did me an inexpressible amount of good. As for Dr. Lietz, he is ubiquitous and indefatigable, at the football, at the harvesting, at his lessons, at the building operations, and putting his hand to everything.

The evening service is touching and worthy of note. In it recourse is always had to authors of genius, and the soul is elevated by contemplation and by the aid of parables full of present interest. There are chosen from the Bible only the clear, moral, and impressive passages.

The idealizing spirit, the beneficent inspiration which Dr. Lietz has infused into his school, an inspiration which is communicated to all the pupils and gives life to everything, is that of harmonious individualism combined with altruism, the inspiration which enjoys even as it gives, which works lovingly as the bee for his hive or the ant for his ant-hill. As Mr. Ferrière has very well said, the educational secret of Dr. Lietz consists in the fact that he does not command but gives himself. Upon seeing him act, his pupils instinctively imitate him, and vicious tendencies are thus kept in check.

We have said that the school corresponded to an industrial school,—let us add, of an idealized form. In fact, the intellectual development is there much greater, to my mind, than in our famous classical "gymnasien," in spite of their Latin and Greek. The teaching of these two languages is taken into consideration and will be furnished to the pupils whose parents desire it. I am certain, for my part, that it will be given there in a much more useful and rational way than in our "gymnasien."

It has not been necessary to consider any pupil of the D. L. E. H. as incurably lazy; not a single one has remained indifferent in the presence of the scholastic task. This result is due to the principles of

fidelity, confidence, veracity, courage, responsibility, and enthusiasm that preside over all. Religious and political tolerance, breadth of view, and impartiality are there cultivated systematically. The synthetic principle of education is there victorious over egoism and a sensualistic and materialistic course of life, as a result of an education directed toward the ideal and love. Actions, not words, prevail. Evil natures are disconcerted and side-tracked. They are obliged to fall in line, at least for form's sake, in order to escape general contempt and the shame that have usually followed their rare attempts to depart from the spirit of the D. L. E. H. General indignation and the but too visible sadness on the part of Dr. Lietz, that is enough; there are no further attempts to give a bad example. So every pupil, who has any good dispositions in his brain, finds everything that will develop him and help him to find himself.

Total abstinence from alcoholic drinks, actually practised at Ilseburg and Haubinda, facilitates enormously the realization of the ideas of Dr. Lietz. No alcoholic drink is furnished to the institution itself, and hardly any one dares to expose himself to the moral taint which he would bring upon himself by taking any outside.¹

In a recent report of the school, the chapter on religious teaching is very instructive. Starting from the very just idea that all the heroes of the human soul, whatever their opinions, have made great endeavors toward the ideal, Dr. Lietz does not fear to show to his pupils,—and that in a striking way,—their contradictory opinions. “We do not wish,” he says, “to become accomplices of the injustice traditionally committed toward young people by inculcating into them only that chapter or that part of the conceptions regarding life and the world which suits our opinions and the tendencies of our dear little ego or of the dogmatist or heretic of whom we personally approve. It is our duty, on the contrary, to show young people the wealth of ideas concerning God and man, which the superior minds of all times and all nations have developed.” The life of Jesus and the great prophets is related as much as possible according to the spirit of the first Christian communities, care being taken not to bring forward the more or less mythical stories of Noah or of Joseph as articles of faith in which one should believe.

At the end of his report, Dr. Lietz says:—

(1) The overtaxing tendencies and one-sided development of our schools have already attacked the feminine sex, and a mother, Mrs. Petersen, who at Berlin suffered from this fact on her daughter's account, has established a D. L. E. H. for young girls at the Stolpersee near Potsdam. This institution is being developed as well as could be desired on the model of Ilseburg and Haubinda, but in a way appropriate to the training of the sex.

"Doubtless, with us all teaching must assume an educational character, especially by utilizing all the concentration of attention on the child's part to make him profit by it. In fact, while we employ all the means at our disposal to teach clearly and in a way appealing to the senses, we have no desire whatsoever to divert the pupil from his own intellectual work. Quite on the contrary, the method of development that we employ requires a great effort of the class. It is a pure absurdity that is uttered by those who maintain that 'the new pedagogy,'—this very term proves that our critics have no idea of the history of this science,—that 'the new pedagogy,' I say, seeks only to spare the pupils labor. Any observer of our pupils and any reader of our reports will find that we seek and attain quite a contrary result, at least in a pupil of the normal type. It is just because a properly assigned lesson exacts so great a tension of the mental energy of the pupil that it must not exceed forty-five minutes and must be followed by pauses of at least fifteen minutes.

"It is here that we learn to know the pupils as being everywhere our best teachers. Let them come to us as much as possible without constraint,—and this does not in the least exclude politeness,—to impart to us their objections and their doubts! We are a hundred leagues from thinking ourselves perfect, infallible, and omniscient. If the result does not realize our expectation, it is upon ourselves first of all that we should lay blame. How many times do we, the educators, find ourselves brought to the limits of our power! Let there be at least some recognition of our good will.

"Finally in all our teaching let this be the consolation: the greatest teachers are nature and life, intercourse with all those who deserve our confidence as friends, all those to whom we give ourselves to the end that they may work for the good of the soul of their neighbor and thereby for the good of their own."

With these words of the founder of the work in Germany, I end this short account of what I have seen and understood.

Let us come now to a few objections. It is feared that there will be an overtaxing on the physical side, which the anæmic persons, the "neurasthenics" (to use a term now in fashion) will not be able to stand. The facts have proved the contrary of this idea. At Ilsenburg and Haubinda, the anæmic pupils have gained blood and the "neurasthenics" have had their brains strengthened, proving how far the régime of our schools is healthy and hygienic. Moreover, it is now coming to be understood in psychiatry and neurology that it is not harmonious labor, even though it be considerable, that overtaxes the person and makes him "nervous," but a one-sided form of work, combined with alcohol, with

excessive loss of sleep, sexual aberrations, and defects due to inherited vices. I have myself successfully introduced physical and intellectual labor as a means of curing various nervous diseases and psychosis.

It has been maintained that the pupils of Ilsenburg and Haubinda must be composed of boys "selected because of their strength." That is incorrect. On the contrary, there have been sent to them many weak in body and in mind who did not succeed elsewhere. There is even a case of declared imbecility which has developed in an unhoped for manner. The studies at Ilsenburg and Haubinda are not adapted especially to the strong. They are intended for the average pupil, and they constitute a real haven of safety for the weak, the tardy, and the slow-witted. The pupils "strong in exercise work," those who are "echoes of the teacher," and the memorizing heroes, that is to say, precisely those who usually form the glory of our schools and of their teachers, play no preponderating part there.

An objection has been made which at first sight seems more serious. It has been feared that the intellectual effort is too little cultivated, and that, through an imperfect development of the powers of reasoning and abstraction, the pupil may become incoherent and may in the end have no clear general ideas. If Dr. Lietz had neglected study for sport, this objection might be serious. But on this fundamental point the game seems to me to be almost won. In a few years' time, moreover, we shall have the actual proofs, as soon as the pupils of Haubinda measure their strength with others in the more advanced studies. What I have been able to see inclines me to think that this objection is also erroneous. The effort made at Haubinda is more useful and is sustained by interest which attracts attention. It is a sounder effort which, far from preventing the formation of general ideas, leads to them by a surer and truer road, by that of individual reflection, criticism, and comprehension. Methods of reasoning learned too soon, and a premature form of abstraction not led up to by intuitions emanating from the comparison of concrete things become, on the contrary, "like sounding brass and tinkling symbol"; they form rhetoricians, phraseologists, and sophists, but not thinkers.

It has been feared also that, not having been accustomed to examinations, the pupils of Haubinda may not be able to pass the test of their maturity (the baccalaureate) or their examination for entrance into the graduate schools. After what I have seen, I do not at all share this apprehension. However, we shall soon know.

I see now, nevertheless, the great objection which will be made to me. It is all very well for a private school which has a good number of teachers, and to which the sons of rich families will be sent. But how will

you generalize this system in the popular national school, in the primary school of the poor man? I grant at once that the experiment has not been made in this respect. Pestalozzi failed for two reasons: his age was not ripe for the experiment and he himself was absolutely lacking in the practical qualities that lead to success. Have not many fruitless attempts at the greatest reforms preceded their definitive success in the history of mankind? A few practical checks do not in the least prove that an idea is false or that it cannot be realized. The private school is necessarily the field for the preliminary experiment, for the state has never had the privilege of initiatives and innovations, except when it has been directed by a despot with genius. This must certainly be admitted. So it is that our little democratic states of Switzerland, with their unlimited and mean regard for all the petty forms of egoism upon which they depend and which they have to safeguard, have at least, on the other hand, the duty of tolerating and even that of encouraging every private initiative in the way of an innovation in the domain of what is good. It is our duty, therefore, at once to follow and encourage the development of schools of the class to which that of Dr. Lietz belongs.

Let us see, however, whether the difficulties in the way of the application of their principles to the public school are really so insurmountable. At the very beginning I see nothing whatsoever that would prevent the adaptation of the programmes of study and the method of teaching of the Ilseburg and Haubinda type. For this purpose it is necessary to form the teachers and the programmes with this end in view. There would be everything to gain by it. It would seem to me wearisome to enter into details here. But, why impose upon the teachers or the pupils barren manuals instead of great authors? What is the good of those curtailed and uniform programmes made with a view to an examination which one is petty enough to consider as the end or ideal?

The head master of the primary school and the class teacher will protest! Well, they are precisely the persons who will be the first to profit by the Lietz system, and the most inclined to apply it. It is, in fact, an old observation that the good head master and the good class teacher have a much greater tendency to devote themselves to individual work with their pupils than the special teachers, whether those of Haubinda or those of one of our "gymnasien." They have quite naturally a much greater feeling of their responsibility as regards their pupils. *The distribution of responsibility kills the consciousness of it; this is a psychological fact.* So the special teacher easily falls into the ways of a professor who, perched on his chair, hardly knows his pupils, is concerned only with giving marks to their replies, and is satisfied with

becoming angry or employing irony when the replies do not suit him. His responsibility is limited to having a knowledge of his subject; the rest is the affair of "others" or the director.

I do not see, either, what would prevent the organization in our schools of practical and artistic work such as is done in that of Dr. Lietz. Instead of our stupid singing lessons, in which there is too often taught an arid theory instead of real singing, and in which the best musicians often receive the worst marks; instead of drawing lessons, in which the teacher is too often only a target for the mischievous, let there be something patterned upon what is done at Haubinda. It would not be so difficult to reach by degrees the point of putting a country train and a garden at the disposal of our schools, to add workshops to them, and thus to develop during the afternoon the technical and physical powers of the young. The principle once accepted and understood, it would merely be a question of adapting it as well as possible to each locality. In the villages there could also be put in requisition the aid of certain artisans of ability who could thus be interested in the school under the supervision of the teacher. In the towns, the director of the schools would have to play the part of Dr. Lietz.

Then I do not see why the system of prefects, themselves pupils, and of tasks done during fixed hours would not be applicable to our schools. At the very most the non-resident pupils would present some difficulty, which might be removed by making an exception in their case.

Lastly, I do not see why the graduation examinations might not be suppressed, and advantageously replaced by certificates analogous to those of Ilsenburg and Haubinda and regulated by inspections of the schools. The baccalaureate examinations and those for entrance to the schools for graduate study are more than sufficient.

What cannot and must not be imitated in our present Swiss society is the boarding school with all its well known dangers, revealed especially by the French "lycées." By its system of liberty and of individual and moral development, the Lietz school is, moreover, just the antipodes of the boarding school system of the "lycée." But I grant that for the time being we can hardly dare to apprehend the possibility of the Lietz kind of boarding schools in our public school system, when in those very centres family life is too often only a snare and goes counter to all training of the will, the moral sentiment, and the intellect.

We must not try to do everything at once. Let us leave to the future the care of elaborating the social progress of the public school, and let us be satisfied for the moment with infusing some feeling into our

schools and our teaching. If we succeed in doing this, we shall already have done a great deal.

Our children have generally six hours of school a day. If we utilized these well, reducing the hour to forty-five minutes, cutting off an hour of intellectual labor, adding in its place two hours of manual labor, and replacing the tasks done at home by a fixed hour of free individual work with a pupil as prefect, we should come, without changing much in the schedule of the present condition of things and without doing any harm to family life, to the realization of a good part of the so desirable reforms, established in principle by Pestalozzi and Froebel and put into practice by Drs. Reddie and Lietz. I am sure that the parents and the pupils would be glad to grant one or two hours additional a day to a school as sound and as moral as this, in exchange for the nightmare of exercises done at home, of tasks, of confinement to the house, and of so many other tortures which are imposed upon our youth and which contribute along with the method of teaching to making school repulsive.

And, above all, who among us does not feel stirring within him the desire to furnish his country with men and women who may enrich and ennoble it, by giving it the best part of their labor. Does not the D. L. E. H. indicate to us a means?

Do we not also perceive that for this purpose we must by every means develop in our children a liking for simplicity, endurance, and work, fortifying their will by the use of great effort, and elevating their sentiments by example; that, besides, we must direct their ideals and the ambition of their life toward the good and the beautiful, not by words but by deeds. The educational question of which we have just treated will come to grief in the future, only if we do not realize that it must be solved along with that of human selection, of which we have spoken here when dealing with evolutionary perfectibility. We cannot, it is true, produce greater than men, but we can combat the production of less than men.¹

As a naturalist, I have confined myself especially to what I have seen and observed myself. I have, therefore, neglected Abbotsholme and Ilsenburg in favor of Haubinda, at which I have been. But the reader,

(1) Taking leave of a school which is in reality a refined "new world" of the human soul, I may announce that two Swiss, Messrs. Werner Zuberbühler and Wilh. Frei, teachers in the school at Haubinda, have just bought,—with the help of certain benefactors,—on an idyllic and healthy site on the shore of Lake Constance, the castle of Glarisegg, in the Canton of Thurgovia, and that since the spring of 1902 they have established there a "Swiss Landerziehungsheim" on the model of Abbotsholme, Ilsenburg, and Haubinda, at the same time adapting it to the needs of our country.

desirous of knowing more about each school, will have no difficulty in having the programmes forwarded to him.¹ I end with a brief wish for the prosperity of our descendants: *Fiat lux!*

(1) By addressing the Schweizerisches Landerziehungsheim, "Schloss Glarisegg," Steckborn, Thurgovia, Switzerland, one may obtain all necessary information regarding this establishment.

WATERWAYS IN EUROPE
ALFRED VON WEBER-EBENHOF
VIENNA

PART I.

RECENT progress in navigation, particularly in the development of inland navigation, has given great impetus among civilized nations to commercial intercourse by water, and many and varied are the schemes that have been proposed to increase the possibilities in this direction.

The rapid rise and unexpected expansion of the railroad system in the century just past impelled men to adopt the conclusion which, however, has proved to be false, that the railways alone would be able without difficulty to meet all the multifarious demands made upon them. Little competition was to be expected from the modest waterways which arose under such different conditions, so that successful inland navigation was mostly restricted to large streams, many of the artificial waterways barely managing to subsist or failing altogether.

The railways, however, have not realized expectations, and chiefly for two reasons. In the first place, the carrying capacity of a great number of roads reaches an insurmountable limit as traffic increases, and secondly, their costs of maintenance are so high that many bulky goods of low value cannot be carried at a profit.

On the other hand, transportation by boats of the largest possible dimensions is not only very much less expensive, but it permits of the conveyance of goods that have hitherto been unavailable, and thus new fields are opened to commerce and industry. The decisive success of waterways as a means of transportation is due in no small measure to recent advances in the science of practical engineering. Indeed, scarcely ever have there been similar achievements in any field of human activity in such a short space of time. Nothing seems impossible in these days: inventions formerly looked upon as absurdly chimerical have become actualities; scarce a day passes that some step in advance is not taken. Modern machines for the winning and manufacture of building materials, especially of iron and of cements, make possible the construction of enormous plants; perfected drilling machines worked by air pressure or electricity will speedily and without difficulty cause proud mountains to fall; the up-to-date derrick will lift and move the heaviest loads, while

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with the aid of dredging appliances and excavating machines Aladdin changes can be brought about in the earth beneath and in the waters under the earth. Yet of all the applications of engineering science, none more directly or more surely affects modern intellectual and industrial conditions than the science of hydraulics. All nations are at present turning their attention particularly to navigation in an endeavor to drive the pulsating life of the ocean highways of commerce inland, and by means of numerous widely ramified arteries to open up new territories to industrial exploits.

Great seaports have arisen from small and unimportant beginnings, new harbors have been established, and, by means of improvements at the mouths of large rivers, ocean commerce has been brought far inland. The German Nordostsee Canal forms the shortest possible route between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, while large ocean ships can proceed as far as Manchester via. the Liverpool-Manchester Canal. Regulation and canalization have given to the navigability of large streams proportions formerly undreamed of. Extensive networks of inland waterways have been formed by artificial canals running in every direction. As has been suggested, the ships employed should be as large as possible; but given even this condition, transportation by water cannot be successful unless the delays incident to lading and relading and to passage through locks are reduced to a minimum. All new inland waterways are, therefore, constructed with open stretches as long as possible and with as few locks as possible, so that boats can be joined together to advantage in a long tow and be moved by mechanical contrivances. It has become necessary in consequence to concentrate the various lifts at a few points, and with this in view monster mechanical lifting machines have been introduced, as, for example, at La Louvière in Belgium, at Henrichenburg on the Dortmund-Ems Canal and at Fontinette in France. Still more immense projects have been planned to overcome the greater heights of the lifts necessitated by concentration, and ship railways and inclined planes are to be used for this purpose.

Two determining factors control the conditions of navigation with respect to the continent of Europe. The first of these is constant and, on the whole, unvarying, consisting of the various orographical and hydrographical relations of the continent, while the second is inconstant and dependent upon so many extraneous conditions that it is rather more difficult to determine, namely, trade. In order to arrive at a clear idea of the natural function of the rivers of Europe and the waters surrounding the continent as systems of commercial waterways, we must first study the elements of the two factors just specified. The streams

that empty into the Atlantic Ocean or into the North or the Baltic Sea, are separated from those which flow into the Mediterranean or the Black Sea by a line which, passing the Danube on one side, and the Rhine, the Weser, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, on the other, continues through Russia to the Ural Mountains. The chief rivers of Germany flow almost parallel to one another northward into the North Sea. No deltas obstruct their entrances, as is the case in so many river mouths. These rivers, carefully attended and united by a rational system of canals, will provide the most effectual means of communication with the sea and among themselves. South of the line separating the northern and southern watersheds of Europe, the conditions are much less favorable, inasmuch as the rivers of this territory, particularly the Po, the Adige, the Danube, the Dnieper, etc., empty into the Mediterranean or the Black Sea, and these, particularly the latter, are further removed from the great centres of international commerce. Moreover, the physical conditions of the country are far less favorable in southern than in northern and western Europe, on account of the many mountain ranges and consequent great lifts.

The liveliest interchanges between ocean navigation and inland navigation take place along the mouths of rivers, for on the one hand, seagoing vessels are eager to push as far inland as possible, while on the other hand, river craft seek to get as near as they can to the river's mouth. The wonderful revolution that has come about in the building of large ocean vessels, due to startling advances in modern machine construction, as well as the forward strides now being taken in inland navigation, point indubitably to a harmonious union of the latter with ocean navigation, whereby the commercial pulse beats of the ocean will be felt in the innermost regions of the continent. Instead of unconnected and insufficient waterways serving local purposes only, we must have a well regulated and well appointed system, by means of which all local as well as through traffic may be handled in the most economical manner.

OCEAN VESSELS.

The fundamental condition for the cheap transportation of freight over long distances is the employment of large vessels which do not necessitate relading; consequently ocean transportation will always offer the lowest rates. To this fact must be ascribed the rapid increase in the size of ocean vessels, which is well illustrated by a comparison of the caravel, "Santa Maria," with which Columbus discovered America in 1492, with the ocean greyhound, "Deutschland."

Another factor of tremendous influence, and daily assuming greater proportions, in the development of ocean navigation, is the employment of steam. In 1875 Germany possessed four thousand, two hundred and eighty-three sailing vessels with a total tonnage of eight hundred and seventy-seven thousand, four hundred and seventy-three, against two hundred and seventy-nine steamships with a tonnage of one hundred and eighty-nine thousand, four hundred and twenty-seven; in other words, of every one hundred ships ninety-four were sailing vessels, and only six steamships. In 1899 the number of sailing vessels had decreased to two thousand, one hundred and seventy-eight with a tonnage of five hundred and eighty-eight thousand, eight hundred and fifty-nine, while the number of steamships had risen to nine hundred and seventy-three, with a tonnage of one million, thirty thousand, three hundred and seventy, so that the ratio of the former to the latter in 1899 was as sixty-nine to thirty-one. Yet, although the number of sailing vessels was more than twice as large as the number of steamships, when we examine the tonnage we find the proportion almost exactly reversed, for, while in 1875 the capacity of sailing vessels in tons compared to that of steamships was as eighty-two to eighteen, in 1899 the ratio was as thirty-six to sixty-four; in other words, in the latter year almost two thirds of the freight was transported by steamships.

In this connection the following table, which contains figures for the end of the year 1898, will be of interest:—

	Number of Steamships	Total Capacity, Tons	Average Tonnage	Number Sailing Vessels	Total Capacity, Tons	Average Tonnage
England,	7,654	11,316,419	1,478	8,220	2,914,798	355
Germany,	1,095	1,658,148	1,514	1,208	543,533	450
France,	754	984,576	1,356	1,614	289,247	179
United States,	534	815,634	1,527	3,762	1,288,835	343
Norway,	734	640,347	872	2,617	1,146,025	438
Spain,	436	532,083	1,220	1,145	164,504	144
Japan,	464	457,989	987	255	31,192	122
Italy,	275	423,592	1,540	1,609	464,309	289
Russia,	453	367,710	812	2,415	459,053	190
Holland,	251	366,369	1,460	546	121,316	222
Denmark,	338	346,609	1,025	899	144,829	161
Sweden,	584	328,624	563	1,568	275,842	176
Austria,	192	302,745	1,577	161	45,196	281

In the year 1877 the ratio of the number of sailing vessels to that of

steamships was as ten to one, of the tonnage as three to one. In 1898 the ratios were as two to one and as one to three, respectively. The average tonnage of sailing vessels was three hundred, of steamships one thousand, three hundred and fifty.

During the past decade we have witnessed an amazing increase in the building of ocean liners for passenger service. The statistics of the largest of these steamers will be found in the following table:—

STEAMER	YEAR COMPLETED	PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS				HORSE POWER	SPEED IN KNOTS	LINE
		GROSS TONNAGE	LENGTH IN M.	BREADTH IN M.	DEPTH IN M.			
Kaiser Wilhelm,		20,000	207.25	21.94	13.46	36,000	23¼	North-German Lloyd, Bremen
Deutschland,	1900	16,000	202.00	20.42	13.41	33,000	23	Hamburg-Amer- ican, Hamburg
Kronprinz Wilhelm,	1901	14,600	194.20	20.10	13.16	33,000	23	North-German Lloyd, Bremen
Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse,	1898	14,349	191.15	20.10	13.16	28,000	22½	North-German Lloyd, Bremen
Oceanic,	1899	17,040	209.00	20.73	15.09	21,000	26	White Star Liverpool
Lucania,	1895	12,952	186.00	19.80	13.10	25,000	22	Cunard, Liverpool
St. Paul,	1895	11,629	163.40	19.20	12.80	20,000	20½	International Navigation Co., New York

These express steamers were built at a cost of from two and a half to over three million dollars.

The draught of ships is of the utmost importance. In the year 1878 the largest steamships had a draught of five and eight tenths metres; in 1898 this had been increased to eight and eight tenths metres, and the prospects are that we shall soon have ocean steamers with a draught of from nine to ten metres.

SEAPORTS AND SEA-CANALS.

The continental as well as the English seaports have had to keep pace with the marvelous growth of ocean liners by furnishing facilities for the landing, loading, and unloading of these leviathans of the deep. Harbor entrances have been broadened and deepened, basins and wharves enlarged, likewise the dimensions of locks (for example, one at Havre, two hundred and eighty metres by thirty metres) and of docks (for example, one at Southampton, two hundred and forty-four metres by thirty-eight metres). The number of dry docks, of warehouses, of sheds, of fixed, movable, and floating cranes run by steam, electricity, or hydraulic power, some of which will lift one hundred and fifty tons, has been

multiplied with astonishing rapidity. An innovation with respect to docks is the machines for hoisting ships. Recent developments in the construction of giant dredging machines, which regulate the depth of a harbor, threaten to replace the old scouring basins, which can never be depended upon. Enormous strides have been made in the construction of breakwaters, lighthouses, etc., by the employment of cement and of pneumatic foundations.

Almost to the middle of the nineteenth century, Hamburg, the largest seaport of the European continent, managed to get along with a channel measuring only four metres in depth at high tide. During the last sixty years this depth has been almost doubled by dredging alone, and undoubtedly the channel of the lower Elbe will in time be made more than eight metres deep, so that the harbor of Hamburg is assured a leading rôle for all time to come.

The channel of the Weser at Bremen had a depth of not more than two and five tenths metres, which necessitated the construction of the harbor of Bremerhaven (1827). By regulating the Weser at low water, the city of Bremen itself has been reopened to ocean traffic and at the present day ships with a draught of six metres enter the city, whereas previously,—as late as 1884,—no ships with a draught of over two and seven tenths metres could reach Bremen. A still further increase of draught is technically practicable and will probably be realized in time.

The Dortmund-Ems Canal was intended to furnish a new connection of the industrial districts of the Rhine Province and Westphalia with the sea, and with this aim in view, the inland waterway was conducted to Emden, the seaport nearest the mouth of the Rhine, which is connected with the open ocean by a channel ten metres deep at high water. This depth can easily be increased, so that Emden can, without much effort, be made accessible to the largest ocean vessels.

The extraordinary development of German seaports, which has gone hand in hand with that of the German merchant marine, may be traced in the following table, in which the extent of the commerce of the principal ports is given for three different periods:—

PORTS	TRADE IN TONS.		
	1875	1890	1898
Königsburg,	785,637	899,573	1,171,117
Danzig,	821,788	939,932	1,442,231
Lübeck,	825,525	1,482,464	1,762,303
Stettin,	825,525	2,042,937	3,178,717
Bremen,	1,040,179	2,265,388	3,624,388
Hamburg,	2,720,966	7,519,296	12,258,922

The total commerce of these six ports has, therefore, been quadrupled between 1875 and 1898. Hamburg, with incredible rapidity, has become the leading port of the continent of Europe and one of the three or four largest ports of the world. To assure its growth every possible expedient was exhausted; even the obstacle presented by the freezing over of the harbors in winter, which had been regarded as insurmountable, was removed by the employment of a veritable fleet of ice breaking machines of the latest design.

One of the greatest triumphs of marine engineering, however, was the construction of the Kaiser Wilhelm-Nordostsee Canal, which unites the North Sea and the Baltic Sea at sea-level, and by cutting off the Danish peninsular, connects the coasts of both seas, and enables even large ships to avoid the difficult and dangerous passage around Cape Skagen. The cost of the canal, which was begun in 1887 and finished in 1895, amounted to thirty-nine million dollars. It is ninety-three and sixty-five hundredths kilometres long and at least nine metres deep. The width at the bottom measures twenty-two metres in straight sections, but is increased for bends and turns. The banks are lined with stone. At a height of six and seventeen hundredths metres from the bottom the available width measures thirty-six metres, thus enabling two of the largest vessels that sail the Baltic to pass each other with ease. Seven meeting places at a distance of twelve kilometres from one another have been provided for the passing of the largest ocean vessels. At each end of the canal there is a lock of twenty-five metres available width and one hundred and fifty metres available length. Six enormous iron bridges, two fixed and four drawbridges, span the canal. The business of this canal amounted in 1896 to one million, seven hundred and fifty-one thousand tons, in 1897 to three million, nine thousand tons, and in 1898 to three million, four hundred and fifty-one thousand tons. The time of passage varies from eight hours and forty-eight minutes to fourteen hours according to the channel depth, which may range from five and forty hundredths to more than seven metres. The distance saved between the Baltic and Dunkirk or London amounts to four hundred and twenty-five nautical miles.

The London docks do not satisfy the latest requirements, since they lack appliances for unlading and extensive sheds for the rapid sorting and distribution of goods intended for further shipment. The Tilbury docks, which were erected in the eighties to meet this demand, did not come up to expectations, since they are too far removed (forty-one kilometres below London Bridge) from the centre of London traffic, and since they are not situated immediately on the main ocean highroad, as are Dover and Southampton.

Glasgow was transformed into a seaport by extensive works and dredgings along the Clyde: while formerly the navigable depth at low water was only four tenths of a metre and at high water one and one tenth metres, at the present day ocean vessels with a draught of eight metres have access to the city, and the giant steamers of the twentieth century are launched from its yards. But the most important achievement in the field of ocean navigation advancing inland is the Manchester Ship Canal. This undertaking has made it possible for large steamers with a draught of seven and five tenths metres, which were formerly compelled to unlade at Liverpool, to advance about sixty kilometres further inland.

In France the Seine offers an interesting competition for harbor supremacy on the part of three cities. Havre lies at the mouth; ships must travel one hundred and twenty-six kilometres up stream in order to reach Rouen and three hundred and sixty-eight kilometres to get to Paris. Up to 1848 the navigable depth in the territory near the mouth amounted to only three metres, so that ships with a capacity of two hundred tons often required several days to get to Rouen. By 1869 it had been made possible for ships with a draught of one metre to reach Rouen. In the year 1870 operations ceased, because it was feared that Havre might suffer. However, during the eighties the canal of Tancarville was constructed, which permitted river vessels on the canalized Seine with a draught of three metres to approach Rouen. Several vessels with the same draught penetrate as far as Paris; in fact, a limited direct freight traffic is maintained between Paris and London, but this is scarcely worth mentioning.

Belgium has done a great deal for its harbors. The harbor traffic of Belgium amounted to seven million, one hundred and eleven thousand, one hundred and forty-six tons in 1880, and had risen to fifteen million, eight hundred and ninety-nine thousand, four hundred and seventy-five tons in 1897. The harbor of Antwerp has made great strides during the past few years. The basins at the present day cover an area of sixty-four and three tenths hectares and are surrounded by seven thousand, five hundred metres of quays, two thousand, seven hundred metres of paved slopes, and one thousand, one hundred and sixty metres of sheet piling. Sixteen hectares are covered with sheds. The equipment consists of sixty-four movable cranes, one giant crane of one hundred and twenty tons, two of forty tons, etc. The basins are connected with the Scheldt by locks, which are deep enough to admit vessels with a draught of seven metres at average tide. The harbor contains six docks, of which the longest can accommodate ships one hundred and fifty-five metres long. The inland traffic of Antwerp is of the utmost importance. The basins are usually occupied by two hundred and fifty ocean vessels and

twelve hundred river boats. Besides, three extra basins with an area of six hectares and with two thousand, seven hundred and forty metres of wharves are provided expressly for inland traffic. Vast improvements have been made along the Scheldt; particularly noticeable are the landing wharves five thousand, five hundred metres long with a depth of eight metres at low water and twelve metres at high water. We need not wonder, then, that the ocean commerce of Antwerp has risen from four million, six hundred thousand, nine hundred and fourteen tons in 1890 to six million, four hundred and eighty-two thousand, one hundred and sixty-three tons in 1899. The inland ship trade increased during the same period from two million, seven hundred and seventy-four thousand, five hundred and eighty-six tons to five million, eight hundred and eighty-seven thousand, five hundred and ninety-nine tons, consequently in 1899 almost equaling the ocean traffic.

Great interest has been aroused by the canal from the city of Bruges to the sea, now under construction in connection with the seaports of Bruges and Heyst-Zeebruges, whereby the city of Bruges, formerly one of the most important of the Hanseatic towns, which had been for centuries cut off from the sea by the encroachment of sand, will again be able to welcome the ships of the sea. The canal was to be completed in 1903.

A new waterway has been created from the city of Rotterdam to the sea by regulating the Meuse. The total cost of the work, which was begun in 1881 and finished in 1896, amounted to about fifteen million dollars. A depth of from nine to ten metres is maintained all the way from Rotterdam to the sea. While in 1850 the entire trade that reached Rotterdam by way of the Voorne Canal amounted to only three hundred and forty-six thousand tons, in 1899 six thousand, eight hundred and ninety ships carrying six million, three hundred and twenty-three thousand, and seventy-two tons passed through the new waterway; in other words, traffic increased almost twentyfold. In addition to this, the inland marine commerce of Rotterdam in 1899 amounted to fourteen million, five hundred thousand cubic metres. The Rhine trade of Rotterdam alone amounted in 1899 to six million, eight hundred and sixty-seven thousand, one hundred and sixty-four tons as against two million, three hundred and seventy-six thousand, three hundred and one tons in 1889, an increase of almost two hundred per cent in ten years. The Rhine traffic of Rotterdam, moreover, is three times as large as the entire railroad traffic of the city. As far as ocean commerce is concerned, of the continental cities Rotterdam ranks next to Hamburg and Antwerp.

The ocean trade of Russia is centred almost exclusively in the twelve harbors mentioned in the following table :—

Baltic Sea,	{ St. Petersburg and Kronstadt,	3,690,000 tons
	{ Riga,	2,590,000 tons
	{ Libau,	1,000,000 tons
Black Sea,	{ Odessa,	4,000,000 tons
	{ Nikolaief,	1,380,000 tons
	{ Kherson,	850,000 tons
	{ Novorossiisk,	1,000,000 tons
Sea of Azof,	{ Batum,	1,310,000 tons
	{ Mariupol,	800,000 tons
	{ Rostof,	1,050,000 tons
Caspian Sea,	{ Baku,	4,640,000 tons
	{ Astrakhan,	4,750,000 tons

The ship canal from St. Petersburg to Kronstadt, completed in 1885, increased the navigable depth, from two and seventy-five hundredths to six and seventy hundredths metres, and a further increase to nine metres is contemplated. At Kherson the navigable depth at the mouth of the Dnieper has been increased from three to seven and sixty hundredths metres. At Riga the waterway to the Baltic, which is sixteen kilometres long, has been made six and seventy hundredths metres deep, and similar results have been obtained at other Russian seaports.

The harbor of Fiume in Hungary, which up to 1872 had attained to a traffic no larger than three hundred and twenty-five thousand tons, could in 1898 boast of a trade of two million, nine hundred and fifty-four thousand tons, simply because of the enormous improvements undertaken at a cost of seventy-two million crowns. The harbor contains fifty-three hectares of basins, seventy hectares of storage space, six kilometres of quays, ten hectares of covered bonded warehouses, forty-five kilometres of tracks, six floating cranes,—one with a lifting power of thirty tons,—ten tugs, etc.

The following table gives some interesting figures with regard to the size of a few of the leading European seaports:—

HARBORS	AREA		LENGTH OF WHARVES	
	IN HECTARES	OLD FIGURES IN HECTARES	IN KILOMETRES	OLD FIGURES IN KILOMETRES
London Docks,	1,625.0	54.26	86.2	
Antwerp,	1,293.3	855.5	62.51	24.79
Hamburg,	533.36		45.8	
Rotterdam,	480.89		42.8	
Copenhagen,	26.7		4.46	
Bremen,	112.97	43.37	20.7	3.23
Stettin,	62.74	15.13	4.0	
Emden,	56.32		6.38	
Bremerhaven,	36.22		5.30	

The employment of sea lighters in the German waters of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea is a new and interesting departure. These are vessels with a capacity of from one thousand to two thousand tons, which are seaworthy and provided with all appliances for discharging and loading, but which have no machinery to propel themselves. A trading ship concern in Hamburg has twenty tugs and forty-one freight vessels with a draught of from three and five tenths to four and three tenths metres and a capacity going as high as twelve hundred tons. Under favorable water conditions these boats go up the Rhine as far as Düsseldorf and Cologne with a full cargo, and they can be used on all rivers with a navigable depth of four metres without having to touch at the large seaports. Similar enterprises have been successfully established in Bremen and particularly on the Rhine. The "Rhein-und-Seeschiffahrtsgesellschaft," founded at Cologne in 1885, deserves special mention. With its fleet of forty-four sea lighters it keeps the German Rhine ports in close and constant touch with the ports of the North Sea and the Baltic as far as Riga and St. Petersburg. By means of this new sea trade, Cologne, which in the Middle Ages occupied a prominent place among the maritime towns of Germany, has again come to the front, although, to be sure, in a limited degree. One thing is certain: the coasting trade cannot be conducted at less expense than by the use of sea lighters, which penetrate as far as possible inland on the large rivers.

THE WATERWAYS OF HOLLAND.

Three different kinds of canals are found in Holland. In the first place, there are the draining canals, which generally originated from inland seas and old arms of the sea and of rivers, and have served for centuries to unite the cities and villages of the country. They are for the most part very broad and their depth ranges from two and five tenths to three and five tenths metres. Steam is frequently used as the motive power. Secondly, there are the artificial lock canals constructed primarily for purposes of navigation. Of these the famous North Sea Canal serves as a connecting link for the traffic of ocean vessels between Amsterdam and the newly established harbor of Ymuiden. The canal between Amsterdam and the Rhine is one of the most important of those intended for inland navigation. It unites Amsterdam with the Lek and further on with the Waal at the place where the latter begins to be called the Merwede. This canal is seventy kilometres in length and furnishes connection not only with the Rhine, but also with all the waterways of Belgium. It was first opened to traffic in 1893 and supplements a num-

ber of older and less efficient canals by means of a uniform waterway with long open stretches. The third class of Dutch waterways are the peat canals, which have been built for centuries as aids in the peat industry. These canals serve as commercial waterways after the land in question has been brought under cultivation.

Since Holland was won from the sea and since the Dutch people in order to accomplish their purposes have labored for centuries to develop their network of polders and canals, we need not be astonished to find that the Dutch canal system is the densest and most complete in the world. Holland has two thousand kilometres of large, navigable streams and three thousand, one hundred and seventy-two kilometres of larger canals, altogether, therefore, five thousand, one hundred and seventy-two kilometres of important waterways, not counting the less important ones intended only for small boats.

THE WATERWAYS OF ITALY.

In Italy the ship canals have no high watersheds to overcome and most of them were originally built for irrigation or drainage purposes. The Italians claim to have been the first to use locks in the fifteenth century, although Holland, on the other hand, has advanced a counter claim of priority.

THE WATERWAYS OF FRANCE.

The older canals of the lowlands of Northern France are probably just as old as those of Holland. France was the first country to construct a large canal connecting two rivers, namely, the canal of Briare, which was opened in 1642 and connects the Loire with the Seine. The building of canals progressed steadily during the nineteenth century and all the large rivers not formerly united were joined.

After the Franco-German War, France attempted to recover from the serious economical losses it had suffered, largely by developing and improving the existing network of waterways, for which purpose the sum of over a thousand million francs was expended. Between 1871 and 1878 two hundred and forty-one million, six hundred and forty-six thousand francs were expended for the French East Canal, the deepening of the canalized Seine, and the canalization of the Saône and other rivers. In 1878, however, De Freycinet, minister of public works, submitted a plan which created a great sensation at the time, and which provided for the uniform development of waterways at a cost of one milliard, six hundred million francs. This progressive scheme, which became law in the

following year, did away once and for all with the old, unsatisfactory system of not introducing improvements until they were needed. The plan provided for one thousand, four hundred kilometres of new canals, improvements on three thousand, six hundred kilometres of old canals and on four thousand kilometres of rivers, and the improvement of seventy-six harbors. Work in accordance with this programme which, to be sure, has been somewhat modified, is still going on. The necessary sums have been raised by occasional large loans and by the usual appropriations. Thus far one milliard, three hundred million francs have been expended on the enterprise, which is to be completed in three years.

These provident measures of the French government, by means of which the length of ship canals of the first rank with a depth of two metres was increased from one thousand, four hundred and fifty-nine kilometres in 1879 to four thousand, seven hundred and fifteen kilometres, in other words, more than tripled, were justified by a period of great industrial prosperity. Commerce on inland waterways rose from twenty to thirty-two million tons. Industries that did not exist formerly or barely managed to eke out their existence began to flourish, and the regions traversed by the waterways were opened up to trade and commerce to a greatly increased degree. The railroads were among the first to reap the benefit of this period of prosperity; this gain is easily explained by the fact that the increased general traffic was handled not only by the waterways but also to a large extent by the railroads, particularly certain articles. Above all, the tax rate of the country was increased to an unexpected degree without working hardship, and thus the state recovered the sum it had sacrificed.

The law to which De Freycinet's plan gave rise, classified waterways according to their importance as main lines and branch lines, and provided that the former should be large enough to admit of the passage of a Flemish *peniche* of two hundred and forty tons carrying capacity. Accordingly the following minimum dimensions were adopted for the main lines: depth of water, two metres; width of locks, five and twenty hundredths metres; length of locks, thirty-eight and fifty hundredths metres.

In 1894 the length of navigable waterways amounted to twelve thousand, two hundred and fifty-three kilometres, of which seven thousand, four hundred and seventy-six kilometres were rivers and four thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven kilometres canals. Of these, five thousand, eight hundred and thirty-seven kilometres were regarded as main lines and six thousand, four hundred and sixteen kilometres as branch lines. Eleven thousand, four hundred and eighty-two kilometres were in

the hands of the government and seven hundred and seventy-one kilometres were licensed, whence we see that the canals in France are controlled almost exclusively by the government. They are managed by state officials and no fees are charged for their use. The parties interested are expected, however, to do all in their power to increase the efficiency of the canals by the formation of shipping companies and the like.

THE WATERWAYS OF GERMANY.

We shall consider more particularly the system of North Germany, since in the southern part of the country the conditions are rather unfavorable for the construction of canals. Many canals were built during the reign of Frederick the Great, who duly recognized their importance. In the nineteenth century the Napoleonic wars and the development of the railroad system at first proved two obstacles difficult to surmount. In 1874 Germany possessed only one thousand, eight hundred and seventy-six kilometres of canals. In Prussia the plans for the necessary improvement of waterways were developed in the official documents of 1877, 1879, 1880, and 1882. The annual appropriations for inland waterways rose from sixteen million, four hundred and forty-eight thousand marks in 1880-81 to twenty-one million, seven hundred and forty-nine thousand marks in 1884-85, and were then gradually decreased to sixteen million, one thousand marks in 1889-90.

The most important enterprises of the new period embrace the Oder-Spree Canal, the Dortmund-Ems Canal, the canalization of the Spree, the Oder, the Main, and the Fulda, the regulation of the lower Weser as far as Bremen, the Kaiser Wilhelm-Nordostsee Canal, and the Elbe-Trave Canal. Of these waterways the Dortmund-Ems Canal provides a new outlet for the large trade from the most important industrial region of Germany to the Prussian ports on the Ems and to the North Sea, especially to Emden. The canal, which is two hundred and eighty-two kilometres long, begins at Herne (near Dortmund) and passes on to Henrichenburg, whence a short canal branches off to Dortmund with the help of a floating vertical lifting machine fourteen metres in height. From Henrichenburg the canal leads on to Münster and to Bevergern. Here connection is to be made with the proposed German Midland (Rhine-Weser-Elbe) Canal. The canal then passes on to Meppen on the Ems, making use of the Ems, and of the Hanecken Canal and the Hase. Before Herbrunn is reached, grading and canalization of the Ems are resorted to; from there on use is made of the tide, and in so far as the river is to serve for both sea traffic and canal traffic, its channel is to be

graded and deepened. The lift from Herne to Emden measures fifty-six metres and is overcome by means of nineteen locks. The lifting machine at Henrichenburg which serves to overcome the difference in height of fourteen metres between Dortmund and the stretch from Herne to Münster is an epoch-making example of marine engineering. The canal is two and fifty hundredths metres deep and eighteen metres wide at the bottom and thirty metres at the level of the water. The locks are sixty-seven metres long and eight and six tenths metres wide, while the tow locks from Gleesen down are one hundred and sixty-five metres long, ten metres wide, and three metres deep. The canal is intended for vessels of from six hundred to seven hundred and fifty tons cargo capacity,—according to the draught. The basin at Emden is accessible to ocean vessels with a draught of six metres. The canal was built between 1889 and 1899 at a cost of seventy-nine million, four hundred and thirty thousand marks. The harbor at Dortmund cost six million, seven hundred and fifty thousand marks. Companies have been established for the management of the extensive shipping, which is carried on by steam tugs and iron tow boats. At a speed of four kilometres an hour, a draught of two metres is practicable; with a draught of one and seventy-five hundredths metres the speed can be increased to five kilometres an hour.

Another remarkable undertaking is the canalization of the upper Oder from Breslau up to Cosel, which was carried out in the interests of the Silesian coal industry between 1891 and 1897, at a cost of almost six million dollars. The boats are fifty-five metres long, eight and twenty hundredths metres wide, and have a draught of two metres, and a carrying capacity of four hundred tons. The canalization extends over seventy-eight kilometres. Large basins were built at the same time at Cosel and at Breslau.

The Elbe-Trave Canal, constructed by the city of Lübeck between 1896 and 1900, also deserves more than passing notice. This canal joins the city of Lübeck with the Elbe. It is sixty-seven kilometres long, twenty-two metres wide at the bottom, accommodates vessels with a draught of two metres, and has seven locks ranging from one and sixty-five hundredths to four and nineteen hundredths metres in height. These locks measure eighty metres in available length, and from twelve to seventeen metres in available width, and will accommodate either two ships sixty-five metres in length and eight metres in width together with their tugs, or a large Elbe boat seventy-eight metres long and eleven and five tenths metres wide. In order to equalize the consumption of water between the largest locks, from one to three basins having an area of

from two thousand, two hundred and eighty to two thousand, eight hundred square metres have been constructed in the shape of a fan. The work of filling and emptying the locks, as well as of closing and opening the flood gates, is performed according to a new lifting system invented by Hottopp. Since this system represents a new and important advance in canal construction, the Elbe-Trave Canal has been closely studied by engineers.

All these recent German projects go a step beyond the French plan of De Freycinet, inasmuch as provision is made for much larger vessels, all waterways west of the Oder accommodating ships with a capacity of six hundred tons and all those east of this river ships with a capacity of four hundred tons. In addition, an effort is made to have the open stretches as long as possible and to concentrate the lift at a few points, besides employing steam or electricity as the motor power. This necessitated the invention of new lifting appliances, of which the floating one constructed at Henrichenburg in connection with the Dortmund-Ems Canal is a typical example. This machine gives full satisfaction and represents a distinct advance over the earlier lifting machines at Fontinette in France and La Louvière in Belgium, which rest upon single hydraulic pistons.

The German Empire at present has (a) seven thousand, one hundred and twenty-five kilometres of natural inland waterways and one thousand, seven hundred and twenty-five kilometres of outside stretches intended more for the coasting trade and ocean traffic, with a total of eight thousand, eight hundred and fifty kilometres; (b) five thousand, four hundred and ninety-six kilometres of artificial inland waterways, five hundred and ninety-eight kilometres of moor canals, and one hundred and five kilometres of channels, with a total of six thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine kilometres, making a grand total of fifteen thousand and forty-nine kilometres, whence, deducting coast waters and outside waters, moor canals and channels, we get a total of twelve thousand, six hundred and twenty-one kilometres of inland waterways. The government statistics give the following figures with regard to the length of German waterways for the close of the year 1894 :—

Navigable rivers,	9,091.79 kilometres
River canalization,	2,184.15 kilometres
Canals,	2,237.64 kilometres
Kaiser Wilhelm Canal,	98.00 kilometres
Total,	13,611.58 kilometres

The total commerce of Germany rose from thirteen milliard, eight

hundred million ton-kilometres in 1875 to thirty-four milliard ton-kilometres in 1895. The amount carried by waterways increased during the same period from two thousand, nine hundred to seven thousand, five hundred million ton-kilometres over a total length of ten thousand kilometres. The length of railroad increased from twenty-six thousand, five hundred to forty-four thousand, eight hundred kilometres, traffic by rail rising at the same time from ten thousand, nine hundred to twenty-six thousand, five hundred million ton-kilometres. In other words, the amount of trade per kilometre rose from two hundred and ninety thousand to seven hundred and fifty thousand tons for waterways, and from four hundred and ten thousand to five hundred and ninety thousand tons for railroads. Four fifths of the waterway commerce is handled by the Niemen, the Vistula, the Oder, the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine, and the Danube. The Rhine in its course of five hundred and sixty-six kilometres to the Dutch boundary, handles two fifths of the trade, namely, about three milliard ton-kilometres of seven milliard, two hundred and sixty million ton-kilometres. The Elbe carries one milliard, nine hundred and fifty million ton-kilometres, that is, more than a fourth of the total. The Rhine and Elbe together, therefore, handle two thirds of the total commerce on German waterways. Between 1895 and 1898 commerce on the Elbe has increased, furthermore, to ten milliard, seven hundred million ton-kilometres.

A notable impetus to inland navigation in Germany has been given by the improvement or establishment of large river harbors, the most important of which are Ruhrort (including Duisburg), Berlin, Hamburg (upper Elbe harbor), Mannheim, Magdeburg, Stettin, and Breslau. The river harbor of Hamburg extends along both shores of the Elbe over an area of one hundred and sixty-two hectares; it has seventeen thousand, seven hundred metres of docks, the navigable depth being from four to five metres at high tide. The canals and navigable tributaries connected with the harbor cover an area of one hundred and twenty-nine hectares; they have fifty-one kilometres of water front and three hundred and forty-six hectares of storehouses and work space. The inland marine commerce of Hamburg (six million tons in 1898) is greater than that of Berlin and is exceeded only by that of Ruhrort (including Duisburg).

Another unusual example of rapid progress is afforded by the harbors of Mannheim and of Ludwigshafen on the Rhine. Their commerce in 1880, 1890, and 1898 respectively amounted to:—

Mannheim,	1,073,469	2,683,150	4,508,271 tons
Ludwigshafen,	239,658	815,500	1,324,497 tons

The combined trade of these harbors, amounting to five million, eight hundred and thirty-two thousand, seven hundred and sixty-eight tons, ranks third on the list of ports, Ruhrort-Duisburg leading with eleven million, three hundred and eighty-eight thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven tons, Hamburg occupying second place with five million, nine hundred and ten thousand, two hundred and seventy-eight tons, and Berlin fourth place with five million, six hundred and thirty-two thousand, three hundred and ninety-eight tons. The rapid development of Mannheim is due to the fact that the harbor lies at the terminus of that portion of the Rhine which is navigable by large vessels, a position formerly occupied by Mainz. It is primarily a transit harbor, while that of Ludwigshafen is more of a commercial harbor. The Mannheim harbor comprises altogether two hundred and twenty hectares of water area, twenty kilometres of available shores, of which four and eight tenths kilometres are quays. The depth of water varies from three and thirty-five hundredths to four and fifty hundredths metres at mean tide. All parts of the harbor are provided with tracks, about one hundred kilometres in all. The equipment consists of one hundred and twenty-nine cranes, sixteen grain elevators, twenty-six coal handling machines, one hundred and ten storehouses, sheds, seventeen petroleum tanks, etc. Ludwigshafen has three thousand, five hundred metres of Rhine shore, of which one thousand metres are quays, fourteen hectares of basins, thirty-three cranes, seven grain elevators, nine bonded warehouses, ten sheds and warehouses, etc. The total sum expended on Mannheim and Ludwigshafen since 1866 amounts to fifteen million dollars.

The following figures present eloquent testimony of the rapid rise of the German inland ports:—

HARBOR	COMMERCE IN TONS		
	1875	1895	1898
Ruhrort-Duisburg,	2,935,000	7,416,000	11,388,000
Berlin,	3,239,000	5,134,000	5,632,000
Hamburg (Elbe harbor),	799,000	3,580,000	5,910,000
Mannheim,	736,000	3,580,000	5,833,000
Magdeburg,	676,000	1,513,000	
Stettin,	514,000	1,439,000	
Breslau,	127,000	1,370,000	

Whenever commerce assumes such extensive proportions, it involuntarily seeks new fields of development: these are to be furnished by the new German canal bill, which I shall discuss further on.

THE WATERWAYS OF BELGIUM.

Of all European countries the commerce of Belgium is relatively the largest, being five hundred and seventy-four francs for each inhabitant in 1898, as against four hundred and eighty francs in England. Belgium also possesses the densest railroad net in the world (six thousand, one hundred and ninety-four kilometres in 1899), having twenty-one kilometres of rails to each myriametre area as against eleven kilometres in England, nine and three tenths in Germany, and seven and nine tenths in France. It has two thousand, one hundred and ninety-six kilometres of waterways, which in 1896 carried thirty-three million, eight hundred and sixteen thousand tons over an average distance of twenty-three and twenty hundredths kilometres.

Rivers,	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{For rafts only,} & 198 \text{ kilometres} \\ \text{Navigable,} & 484 \text{ kilometres} \\ \text{Canalized,} & 549 \text{ kilometres} \end{array} \right\}$	1,231 kilometres
Canals,	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{For vessels of less} & \\ \quad \text{than 200 tons,} & 735 \text{ kilometres} \\ \text{For vessels of more} & \\ \quad \text{than 200 tons,} & 230 \text{ kilometres} \end{array} \right\}$	965 kilometres
Total,		<hr/> 2,196 kilometres

The canals intended for large vessels have a depth of two metres. Those constructed recently have a width of ten and fifty hundredths metres at the bottom and a depth of two and forty hundredths metres. Between 1830 and 1897 Belgium expended four hundred and forty-two million francs on its inland waterways.

The oldest canal in Belgium is the canal of Willebroeck from Brussels to Rupel, built by the city of Brussels in 1477. The greater proportion of the canals were not constructed, however, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, in order to deliver coal from Charleroi and Mons to the markets of Paris and northern France, Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp. Some of the later canals served to transport limestone from the quarry of Tournay, others were used for various agricultural and industrial purposes.

From a technical standpoint the most interesting inland canal of Belgium is the Canal du Centre, which joins the canals of Charleroi and Condé and thus at the same time forms a connecting link between two prominent industrial and mining districts. This canal is only twenty-

one kilometres long, but is remarkable by reason of its large lift. The difference in height between the water level of the canal of Condé at Mons and that of a branch of the Charleroi Canal, which the Canal du Centre joins, is eighty-nine and five tenths metres. Six locks and four hydraulic lifting machines are required to overcome the lift. The principle of these lifting machines, of which the first was constructed at La Louvière as an experiment, consists in the vertical lifting of an iron trough lock filled with water, together with the canal boat, to a height of sixteen metres, by means of a single steel piston underneath the lock, moved by water pressure. In order to ease the motion, two compartments are used, one adjoining the other, and one boat is raised while the other is being lowered, so that a regular balancing takes place, except that the descending compartment, which always contains a little more water than the ascending one, thereby receives an excess of weight that serves as a motor power. Similar lifting machines had been employed at Fontinette in connection with the St. Omer Canal even earlier, but experience has shown that it is rather hazardous to allow a single steel lever to support the entire load of the filled lock; the piston is apt to get out of order, no matter how large the amount of care and money lavished upon its construction, and awkward delays are bound to result. It was for the purpose of counteracting this difficulty that a new device was resorted to in Germany, namely, the scheme of placing the lock upon a number of floats, which is employed at Henrichenburg and gives great satisfaction.

THE WATERWAYS OF ENGLAND.

Before the invention of the steam engine and the consequent introduction of the railroad, ship canals played a very prominent rôle in England. They were all built by private parties, but later passed into the hands of the railroads, which either discontinued them altogether or at least neglected them, in order to remove an element of competition. In consequence of this action on the part of the railroads, the government was forced to pass a law in 1873 compelling them to maintain the canals in their possession in working order.

Next to Sweden and Finland, Great Britain possesses the densest water network of Europe. The character of the watercourses of the Thames, the Ouse, the Trent, the Mersey, and the Severn, as well as the coast formation with its deep inlets, are very favorable to inland navigation. The total length of the English waterways is six thousand, three hundred and thirty-one kilometres, of which two thousand, two hundred and ninety-nine kilometres are in the hands of railroad compan-

ies, while four thousand and thirty-two kilometres belong to independent owners. From one hundred and sixty to one hundred and eighty kilometres of canals have been transformed into railroads, while about twelve hundred kilometres were discontinued for some time. As far as their construction goes, the English canals exhibit a variety of styles corresponding to the nature of their origin. We shall not, therefore, expect to find a uniform network of waterways. Most of the canals are intended for boats of from fifty to eighty tons capacity and are generally from one and two tenths to one and five tenths metres deep.

The more prominent waterways are the following:—

WATERWAY	LENGTH IN KILOMETRES	NUMBER OF LOCKS	FOR VESSELS OF	
			CAPACITY IN TONS	DRAUGHT IN METRES
Aire and Calder,	149	30	70-185	2.4
Birmingham Canal,	254	214	50-80	1.7
Leicester-Northampton Canal,	37	24	80-100	1.8
Worcester-Birmingham Canal,	48	57	90-100	1.8
Weaver,	32	4 and 1	250 max.	3.6 max.
		hydraulic lifting machine		

The canals controlled by independent owners have one thousand, seven hundred and thirty locks distributed over their four thousand, one hundred and ninety-nine kilometres, while those under the management of railroads have nine hundred and ninety-one locks to one thousand, nine hundred and four kilometres. Traffic on the obsolete canals which were for the most part built for vessels of too small a tonnage has almost died out, since they cannot compete with the railroads. On the other hand, the numerous sea-canals of England, which have been constructed in accordance with modern ideas, are enjoying much prosperity. The total commerce in 1888 amounted to thirty-six million, three hundred and one thousand, one hundred and twenty tons, of which twenty-eight million, two hundred and seventy-four thousand, eight hundred and thirteen tons fell to the private canals and eight million, twenty-six thousand, three hundred and seven tons to the railroad canals. The following waterways had the largest traffic:—

Canals of the Birmingham System,	7,713,047 tons
Bridgewater Canal (now belonging to the Manchester Canal),	2,516,535 tons
Aire and Calder,	2,210,692 tons
Canal from Leeds to Liverpool,	2,016,076 tons

THE WATERWAYS OF AUSTRIA.

Austria has thus far had no artificial waterways, except regulated rivers and lakes. Their length in 1896 amounted to three thousand, eight hundred and seventeen kilometres navigable by raft, and two thousand, six hundred and forty-four kilometres navigable by boat, a total of six thousand, four hundred and sixty-one kilometres. Of these, one thousand, three hundred and seventeen kilometres were used also by steamships. The improvements made were at first limited chiefly to the regulation of riverbeds and to protection against floods, in the Alps and Carpathians to the regulation of torrents. The most important works in this field are the regulation of the Danube in lower and upper Austria and at Vienna, and the canalization of the Moldau and Elbe in Bohemia now in progress of completion.

Other expensive improvements have been made along the Inn, the Adige, the Drave, the Save, and the Galician rivers, particularly the Vistula and the Dniester. In 1890 the traffic on Austrian waterways in the districts of the Danube, the Elbe, the Vistula, and on the coast rivers and inland lakes amounted to five million, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand tons for one thousand, six hundred and fifty-six kilometres, in other words, to four hundred and forty-six million, five hundred thousand ton-kilometres, or two hundred and sixty-nine thousand, six hundred and twenty-five tons per kilometre.

Of more recent enterprises should be mentioned the regulation of the Danube at low water, by means of which it has acquired a navigable depth of two metres. The Danube will thus be able to accommodate the ships that are to ply on the projected canals to the Moldau and the Elbe.

The so-called Danube Canal at Vienna, an arm of the Danube, sixteen kilometres in length, has been canalized by a number of movable dams and locks and protected against floods by gates at Nussdorf on the model of the Barrage de Poses. It thus furnishes the ships on the Danube with a means of approach to the inner districts of the city. A winter harbor also was built recently at Freudenau in Vienna and a second harbor is in process of construction.

The canalization of the Moldau and the Elbe from Prague to Aussig, which is at present under way, will make it possible for the large Elbe boats to reach Prague. The distance covered is one hundred and twenty kilometres, sixty-nine kilometres for the Elbe and fifty-one kilometres for the Moldau. The Elbe boats are from sixty to seventy metres long, from ten to eleven metres wide, and have a draught of from one and

seventy hundredths to one and eighty hundredths metres. Thirteen movable weirs provided with locks are being erected, six on the Moldau and seven on the Elbe. The various weirs overcome a lift of about three metres each and permit of the employment of needle weirs. The drops of the locks are about four metres each. The open stretches are from four to thirteen kilometres long. The locks are two hundred and fifty metres in length and eleven metres wide at the gates, and are divided lengthwise into two compartments separated by gates. The lower compartment is one hundred and forty-seven metres long and twenty metres wide and will accommodate entire tows, whereas the upper compartment is seventy-eight metres long and eleven metres wide and is intended only for single ships. The depth in the locks is two and fifty hundredths metres and not less than two and ten hundredths metres in the waterway proper. A sum of twelve million, nine hundred and fifty thousand gulden has been provided for the carrying out of this enterprise.

THE WATERWAYS OF HUNGARY.

The year 1889 marks the beginning of a period of great activity in the construction, improvement, and development of public works in Hungary, a fact that is well illustrated by the growth of the railroads, which in 1889 measured only seven thousand, nine hundred and fifty-six kilometres as against sixteen thousand, nine hundred and eighty-three kilometres in 1899. At the same time much has been done for the regulation of rivers, which play an extremely important rôle in the low and fruitful plains of Hungary. Especially the Danube and the Theiss with their tributaries were regulated and protected against floods. About one hundred and seventy-two million crowns were expended for river improvements between 1867 and 1898. Three million, two hundred thousand hectares of land have been protected by embankments.

The length of the waterways navigable by raft or ship is four thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one kilometres, of which three thousand and ninety-five kilometres can be used by steamships. The total is distributed as follows :—

Rivers,	4,584 kilometres
Lake of Balaton (Plattensee),	34 kilometres
Franzens Canal, between the Theiss and the Danube,	238 kilometres
Béga Canal, between Temesvár and the Theiss,	115 kilometres
Total,	<hr/> 4,971 kilometres

One of the most important undertakings is the passing of the Danube cataracts at the so-called "Iron Gate," an engineering feat of the first rank. The work, which was carried out at a cost of thirty-nine million crowns, consisted of a scheme of concentration and of the blasting out of canals in the rocky riverbed of the Danube, which latter operation led to many improvements in drilling machines and rock blasting machines. The results accomplished are quite remarkable, for while formerly Danube vessels with a draught of one and eighty hundredths metres could pass through the "Iron Gate" only when the water gauge at Orsova registered three and eighty hundredths metres above zero, which is the case on ninety-one days of the year, now the same ships can pass through at eighty hundredths metres above zero, which is possible on two hundred and seventy-one days of the year. By this means the navigation of the river from Bulgaria and Roumania to the upper Danube was for the first time placed on a sound basis.

Another important undertaking was the regulation of the Danube between Pressburg and Gönyö, where the river is very wild and divided into many branches, thus offering great obstacles to navigation. These were completely and successfully removed between 1886 and 1895 at a cost of thirty-four million crowns.

The only artificial waterways in Hungary are the Béga Canal and the Franzens Canal. The former was built by a joint stock company, but has since passed over into the hands of the government. Its commerce is rather limited: one hundred and seventy-seven thousand tons in 1896. The latter was built by a private company between 1791 and 1801, in order to furnish a shorter connection between the Danube and the Theiss, and was enlarged in 1870. It is one hundred and seventeen and six tenths kilometres long and has six locks. Its trade has been constantly on the increase, rising from one million, eight hundred and sixty-six thousand tons in 1881 to three million, eight hundred and forty thousand tons in 1896.

THE WATERWAYS OF RUSSIA.

In early times rivers furnished the sole means of transportation for bulky articles in Russia. On account of the lack of highways, efforts were made from the time of Peter the Great on to unite the leading rivers by artificial canals. These navigation systems, as they are called in Russia, have been greatly improved since 1890.

The so-called Mariinski system, one thousand, one hundred and fifty kilometres in length, which unites the Volga with the Neva or St. Peters-

burg with Astrakhan, has been made deeper and wider, so that it will accommodate vessels of six hundred tons cargo capacity throughout its course. The natural waterways, particularly the Volga, were likewise regulated. The commerce of the latter is exceeded only by that of the Rhine between Cologne and the Dutch boundary. Great improvements were made on the Vistula and the Dnieper, chiefly by dredging. In line with these advances is the modern development of the seaports of St. Petersburg, Kronstadt, Odessa, Batum, etc. Russia in Europe, with a total area of five million, five hundred and seventy-six thousand square kilometres, contains the hydrographic basins of the North Polar Sea, the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, and the Caspian Sea.

The rivers and canals of Russia are navigable by boat or raft over a distance of seventy-three thousand, six hundred kilometres, of which thirty-six thousand, eight hundred and sixty kilometres are navigable by raft only and thirty-six thousand, seven hundred and forty kilometres by any kind of vessel. Steamships ply over twenty-two thousand kilometres of the distance. The length of the artificial waterways amounts to six thousand kilometres, of which one thousand, eight hundred and fifty kilometres are canals and canalized rivers, and three thousand, one hundred and fifty kilometres regulated rivers. The abundance of water and the short distances from one river to another have made it possible to establish connections between them by means of comparatively short canals. Indeed, the entire character of the country is highly favorable to navigation. The commerce of the Russian waterways amounts to thirty-two million, seven hundred and sixty-two thousand tons, or thirty-four million, nine hundred and sixty-six thousand ton-kilometres. From forty-five to fifty-five per cent of the total is carried by the Volga and its tributaries, fifteen to twenty per cent by the Neva and its branches, fifteen per cent by the Dnieper system, and the rest by the remaining systems. In 1876 the traffic by water amounted to fifteen million tons, that by rail to twenty-seven million tons. Between 1876 and 1894 the former increased sixty per cent, the latter two hundred and thirty per cent.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO¹

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I.

THE Mexican system of public economy is today almost in the same condition as that which Alexander von Humboldt and Baron Richthofen so graphically pictured in their exhaustive books. Despite the remarkable progress which the republic has made in every technical department, in agriculture the country has remained at its old stage of development. To be sure, in the tropical regions several tracts of land which formerly lay idle, have been brought under cultivation. As an instance of this, I have seen in the states of Tamaulipas and Vera Cruz plantations on a certain kind of soil, which in Brazil, for example, lay entirely fallow. The heavy advertising in North America of tropical products does not correspond to the existing conditions, for in reality the experimental stage has not yet been passed, and regular economic revenues are not to be mentioned. For a long time to come the profit from tropical districts is not likely to figure largely in Mexico's international balance of trade. Likewise in the colder portions, chiefly through a limited water supply, only a very little progress may be claimed. I have reached the conclusion that as yet not two per cent of the claims to productive management hold good, while in Argentina, for example, about sixty per cent are quite up-to-date. Only a few estates are well watered, and have adequate management. In order to portray briefly the condition of land ownership, I cannot do better than to quote the words of Richthofen: "The estates of the broad Mexican territory may be reduced to two classes: some of enormous extent, whose value ranges from two to four hundred thousand pesos and upward; and others less extensive. The former are in general entirely without cultivation, and their owners, who live in opulence at the capital, are concerned only with getting as much rental as possible out of them during the remainder of their lives, without troubling themselves at all with their management."

(1) I must preface this general impression of Mexico, by saying that I have learned by experience here, as well as in South America and the Orient, that the only way to become at all acquainted with semi-civilized countries, is not by remaining at the capitals of those countries, but by taking extended and regular trips into the interior. I first visited the states whose chief interest lies in agriculture, and afterwards journeyed into the mining and industrial regions.

In addition to the unequal apportionment of the land, the great lack of laborers tends to palsy the development of Mexican husbandry. Of this I was able to convince myself by personal observation, for after I had set out upon my journey, the voluntary interference of the friendly President Porfirio Diaz made it possible for me to extend my trips into regions which, owing to their insecurity, have very seldom been traversed, but which it is important to visit in order to investigate the conditions of labor there prevailing. The governors of the respective states, at the order of the president, placed at my disposal not only relays of carriages and saddle horses, as well as shelter in every place, but also had me continually escorted by a detachment of cavalry, the so-called "Rurales." I therefore felt no hesitation in traveling, accompanied by my wife, through districts occupied exclusively by uncivilized Indians. They dwell in huts built out of reed, straw, clay, and sticks of bamboo. Their food and clothing come from the soil; the only thing which they buy is salt. But just on this account it is very difficult to induce them to work, and upon this consideration also is based the main reason for the problematic condition of Mexican agriculture. Despite the most excellent soil and a native population which she counts by millions, Mexico produces scarcely enough of the necessities of life to support her own people. Therefore she will not be able to take her place in the world's market, at least within calculable time, in exporting sugar, grain, or stock, although she rejoices in several conspicuous and quite modern agricultural enterprises.

II.

Mexico's remarkable economic advance is certainly not attributable to the development of her agriculture, but especially to the rapid building of railroads, which has been wonderfully promoted by President Diaz. The mileage of these roads now amounts to seventeen thousand, seven hundred and fifty-six kilometres. I have neglected no opportunity to become acquainted with the most important lines, and have repeatedly traveled with the directors in their visits of inspection. The board of directors at the present time are either Americans or Englishmen. They are extraordinarily shrewd men and excellently informed in regard to the economic conditions of the country; from them I have learned much. The government has control of but three railroad systems: the Tehuantepec, the National, and the Inter-Oceanic Railroad Companies. All other roads are entirely in the hands of private persons, especially of North Americans. There are at present fifty-eight different companies,

the majority of which are only of local consideration. The following four alone are of international importance: the Mexican Central, the Inter-Oceanic, the Mexican, and the National Railway Companies.

The Mexican Central Railway Company was opened to traffic in 1884, and since that time has been the main artery of communication with the United States, as until a very recent date it was the only standard gauge line. The Central is now building the section from Guadalajara to Manzanillo on the Pacific Ocean, which also it expects to reach at Acapulco with the newly acquired Cuernavaca Road. By the building of the branch line from Aguascalientes to Tampico, and by the purchase of the Monterey and Mexican Gulf Railway Company, which has its terminus in Tampico, the Central has succeeded in attracting to itself the entire traffic of North Mexico, and in emancipating it from the Mexican capital. The harbor of Tampico has in late years increased very much in importance. A depth of water sufficient for the largest ocean steamships has been attained by regulating works in the river Panuco, which have been carried out entirely after the pattern of those at Rotterdam. I have myself seen steamships moor directly at the new two thousand, five hundred and seventy-five foot quay, and, after discharging a cargo, load up again. Of course warehouses of sufficient extent do not yet exist. But everything made upon me such a novel and businesslike impression that I share the view of those who believe that soon Tampico will outstrip Vera Cruz, which, despite its new harbor works, has remained old fashioned. The Central now charges the same prices for the distance between Tampico and the City of Mexico as the other roads demand for the much shorter journey from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. The direct line of the Central from Tampico to the City of Mexico, which is now in process of construction, and which will probably be completed by January 1, 1905, will in all likelihood produce a great revolution in the commerce of Mexico, since it will be shorter than every other connection between Mexico and Vera Cruz.

The Inter-Oceanic Railway Company, organized in 1891, foresaw the competition which impended, and on this account at once made its line from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico one hundred and fifty kilometres shorter. Furthermore, the financial interest of the Mexican state in this road will always prove very helpful to it. From March thirty-first of the past year, the seven per cent bonds of the Inter-Oceanic have been bought in at one hundred and ten per cent. Also a portion of the one million pounds new four and one half per cent bonds, which in September last were bought up at ninety and one eighth per cent by the Mexican government, has been used. The proceeds from these bonds,

after paying for the old seven per cent bonds, will yield a balance of about ninety thousand pounds, which is placed to the company's credit. Through the lowering of the rate of interest a yearly saving of six thousand, five hundred pounds is also effected. The chances of the Inter-Oceanic are directly improved through the transaction with the Mexican government, quite independently of the invaluable, indirect advantages which the road will receive from its community of interest with the state.

The second road, connecting Vera Cruz with the capital, was built in 1868, by the Mexican Railway Company, which, on March 1, 1901, entered into a business combination with the Inter-Oceanic. After a long continued and costly rate war, the two roads entered into an agreement, in accordance with which the entire import and local business for a period of at least seven years should be carried on in combination. Until March 1, 1905, the term of notice is fixed at four years before the intended conclusion of this contract, after this date, at five years. The stock of the Mexican is almost exclusively in British hands.

A road which promises to be of great importance for the uniting of Mexico with North America is the National Railway Company of Mexico, the larger share of whose stock the Mexican government now holds. This company is now changing the hitherto narrow gauge of its road into the standard gauge, and will at once be open to traffic along the entire stretch from Laredo to the City of Mexico. Then the National will not only have about sixteen hours' closer connection with the United States than the Central, but also, in consequence of being of the same gauge, will afford the same security as the latter. To all appearances the entire traffic of the Central will at once be transferred to the National. The final result, however, will probably be, as in the rate war between the International and the Mexican, a pooling of the traffic of the two companies.

Of great importance for the future of Mexico will be the Tehuantepec Road, which affords the shortest route from ocean to ocean, the Pan-American Railway, which is laid out as far as the boundaries of Guatemala, and the Kansas City, Mexico, and Orient Railway, which, in conjunction with the road from Kansas City to New York, will be about five hundred and sixty kilometres shorter than all the other North American lines to the Pacific Ocean.

The railroads of Mexico, more than any other industrial enterprise, have suffered from the depreciation of the money of the country. They are compelled to purchase their entire outfit,—especially their coal, rails, and rolling stock,—in foreign countries and to pay for the same with gold,

while all their receipts from freight and passenger traffic are in silver. Therefore the railroad companies have mustered all their influence to arouse the Mexican government to an early introduction of an adjustable gold standard and to the establishment of a fixed legal value for the silver peso. There can be no doubt that, with a stable ratio for gold and silver, the system of Mexican railroads is capable of a development which is as yet unforeseen and which will bring the richest blessings to the country.

III.

The industrial advance of Mexico has, strangely enough, remained up to the present time far behind the wonderful development of railroads. Despite the protective tariff, which was imposed in 1830, and despite the special laws for the promotion of industries, these have only to a slight degree shared the general economic prosperity. "The main products of Mexican industry are sugar-cane, brandy, cotton thread, common cotton cloths, paper goods, and glass articles." So wrote the royal Prussian resident minister, Baron von Richthofen in 1859. Since then, the only new lines of industry are the factories for tobacco and heniquen.

Yet, as I have been able to observe in the different works that I have visited, the Indians possess a natural talent for, and skill in, the various branches of industrial employment. I have seen repeatedly in factories modern machinery, the use of which had been given up, because the Indian workman could do the same work better, quicker, and cheaper than the machinery. But unfortunately the Indian, in his present state of civilization, has no incentive to the improvement of his style of life, and is, for this reason, difficult to arouse to toil. Today the words of Alexander von Humboldt are as true as they were a hundred years ago: "The welfare of the white race is so closely bound up with that of the brown, that it will be possible to have lasting prosperity in Mexico only so long as that race, which has been bowed down but not overwhelmed by long oppression, can share in the advantages which spring from civilization."

It is a matter of surprise that President Porfirio Diaz, who is himself proud of his Indian blood, has up to the present time done so little for the intellectual advancement of his own kinsmen. But it must be remembered in this connection that the internal peace of the country had first to be established upon a firm foundation, after a series of revolutions extending over two generations had been quelled. Now for the first time may attention be given to arousing the slumbering energies of the Mexican people and to educating them in industrial lines. Mexico surpasses

all the other Latin-American republics in the possession of a pure blooded native population amounting to about fourteen millions. There can be no doubt that the native Mexican Indian, provided he may be won over to modern civilization, will become far more useful to his country from an industrial and military point of view than the mixed races contaminated by negro blood in the rest of America. To be sure Chili, also, has a pure native element in her population, but as this is only one fifth as large as that of Mexico, it may hope to play in the future only a relatively small rôle.

The industrial progress of the Mexican republic goes hand in hand with the extension of the public school system. Already one may observe that the establishment of new public schools is indirectly connected with the advance of industry among the people. Especially good have been the results secured in giving instruction to adults in military barracks and in prisons. But the educational development of the country and the therewith related industrial enterprise of its population naturally demand time. A more complete establishment of the industries of Mexico is at present impossible owing to the lack of labor resources.

Already production has outstripped consumption in several lines of industry and has made the home market well-nigh independent of the foreign: such are the textile industries, tobacco manufactures, refining of sugar, and brewing of beer. On the other hand, the products of but very few industries are exportable. The Mexican trades commissioners, recently returned from South America, whither they had gone for the purpose of securing a wider market for the products of Mexican manufactures, failed completely. They even reported that lively trade relations between Mexico and the South American republics would be possible only when cheaper and more rapid transportation by water should be established and the Panama Canal completed. How small the present Mexican export trade is, may be seen from the commercial statistics of the country.

In the past fiscal year were exported "productos manufacturados" amounting all told to the sum of three million, three hundred and sixty-one thousand, four hundred and forty-six dollars, Mexican. This was distributed as follows:—

Heniquen (Sisal hemp),	\$1,279,753. Mexican.
Tobacco,	668,686. Mexican.
Cottonseed meal,	428,771. Mexican.
Hides,	164,307. Mexican.
Sugar,	38,297. Mexican.

The Mexican industries produce chiefly for the home consumer, and indeed are beginning to be dangerous to foreign import trade. I have seen cotton spinneries and weaving mills, beer breweries, glass works, sugar refineries, and steam mills, which can stand comparison with any American or European factory. To be sure the profit derived from these industries is of the highest advantage to foreign countries, as nearly all the capital invested in them is foreign. According to trustworthy estimates, foreign nations have applied to Mexican industries the following sums:—

France,	\$30,000,000. Mexican.
United States,	18,500,000. Mexican.
Germany,	13,500,000. Mexican.
Spain,	9,750,000. Mexican.
Great Britain,	4,500,000. Mexican.

In spite of these relatively important sums already invested, the Mexican industries are capable of a development as yet unanticipated, because, as I have said, the Indian is a skilled and cheap workman, and because a good income from one's capital seems assured in almost all branches of industry. We shall, therefore, have to reckon with a constant decrease in the Mexican demand for foreign goods, while at the same time, we may exclude any possibility that, outside of Mexico, the competition of Mexican goods is to be feared.

IV.

Now, as for centuries past, the surest and most important source of income in the political economy of Mexico lies in her mines. The export of mineral products constitutes more than half of the total exportation. The Spanish invaders consistently developed and favored this branch of production; and the qualifications of the viceroys of Mexico were measured directly by the quantity of gold and silver which they could send to Madrid. The civil wars, which followed the Declaration of Independence, and the general insecurity engendered by them in the heart of the country brought for a time the development of the mines to a standstill. But, since under the inspired administration of Porfirio, repose and order have everywhere prevailed, no industry has grown so rapidly and developed itself in such thoroughly modern fashion as mining and the working of minerals. The value of the annual output has doubled in the last thirty years, and one is almost tempted to claim that the increase in the produce of the precious metals has been carried to excess and betokens danger to the economic future of the country.

The mineral production of Mexico is now estimated at one hundred and thirty million pesos a year, and consists chiefly of gold and silver, and then of copper, lead, iron, quicksilver, antimony, and other metals. This estimate is based upon the statistics of the year 1902, which places the export minerals at one hundred and nineteen million pesos. If we reckon the metal exported by smuggling at one million pesos, and the home consumption at about ten millions, we get, by the addition of these amounts to the above statistics of exports, no less a sum than one hundred and thirty million pesos. The home consumption sums up approximately as follows:—

Coined silver, which is not exported,	\$7,065,400.
Gold and silver, used for industrial purposes,	250,000.
Quicksilver, iron, lead, copper, etc.,	2,684,600.

The following table represents the production of the several states of the republic of Mexico, according to weight and value, in the year 1901:—

State or Territory.	Weight in Kilograms.	Value in Pesos.
Aguascalientes,	43,986,280	1,176,486
Baja California,	293,954,269	2,016,276
Coahuila,	143,550,784	3,376,921
Chiapas,	31,784,000	286,056
Chihuahua,	845,153,564	9,390,621
Durango,	292,388,416	10,938,091
Guanajuato,	134,645,169	3,161,590
Guerrero,	50,244,078	273,554
Hidalgo,	211,794,993	7,188,429
Jalisco,	43,938,340	1,289,139
Mexico,	24,536,135	3,316,828
Michoacan,	24,084,013	590,656
Nuevo Leon,	195,960,077	2,283,345
Oaxaca,	21,152,433	1,023,327
Puebla,	31,573,600	232,924
Queretaro,	1,010,905	27,307
San Luis Potosi,	94,522,436	3,549,972
Sinaloa,	148,237,544	4,531,818
Sonora,	263,682,285	7,694,569
Tamaulipas,	2,063,792	139,813
Tepic,	30,454,271	1,395,735
Zacatecas,	246,049,832	6,686,154
	<u>3,174,767,216</u>	<u>70,469,611</u>

The states having the greatest mineral production, reckoned by value, stand in the following order: Durango, Chihuahua, Sonora, Hidalgo, and Zacatecas.

What development is yet possible to the mining industry in Mexico is indicated by the fact that on December 31, 1901, ten thousand, seven hundred and sixteen claims covering an area of one hundred and six thousand, two hundred and eighty-five hectares were in the possession of mining contractors. Of these claims nine hundred and eighty-one were for gold, two thousand, three hundred and seven for gold and silver, one hundred and eighty-seven for gold, silver, and lead, four thousand and ninety-four for silver, two hundred and ninety-nine for silver and copper, one thousand, six hundred and sixteen for silver and lead, one hundred and eleven for quicksilver, forty-nine for sulphur, one hundred and fifteen for gold and copper, two hundred and forty-two for gold, silver, and copper, seventy-eight for silver, copper, and lead, three hundred and fifty-two for copper, sixteen for opals, two for salt, eight for copper and lead, forty-three for copper and iron, forty-three for lead, one hundred and eighteen for iron, sixty-nine for antimony, six for tin, seven for silver and manganese ore, four for silver and quicksilver, six for manganese ore, and one for zinc.

This rapid development is extraordinarily favored by wise mining legislation. By the law of June 7, 1887, which came into effect June 6, 1892, mining rights are uniformly regulated for the whole republic, and the several states are expressly forbidden to impose any taxes upon the mines or upon the capital invested in them. Moreover, Article 1 of the law decrees that the production of coal, iron, petroleum, and quicksilver shall be freed from all assessment except the stamp tax. The mines not mentioned in Article 1 pay a tax, which must not exceed two per cent of the value of the output. The law authorizes the administration to make to the great mining companies grants, in ordinary cases up to twenty, and in cases of new or reopened mines, up to thirty, so that under favorable conditions a single company can acquire grants covering an area of eighteen hundred hectares.

Near very old mines, which are worked today by the same methods as three centuries ago, I have seen mines, which can compete with any similar ones in California or South Africa. All the latest achievements of science are turned to account in the modern enterprises of the republic. I have visited mines in which not only were all the levels and galleries lighted by electricity but in which all the lifts, pumps, drills, and ore cars were worked by electricity. Many mines have dynamos of six thousand horse power for the generation of electricity. The great mines have their

own railroads, which connect the shafts with one another and with the smelting works, as well as with a station on the main line. All modern methods are employed in drilling and in extracting the ore. Prospecting holes, only a few centimetres in diameter, are bored with diamond drills to a depth formerly deemed impossible. By the aid of modern explosives and of stamp mills,—worked by electricity and compressed air,—the hardest masses of rock are conquered, while by electric pumps, the mines are easily kept dry. Ventilators and incandescent lights are employed with the result that, at the greatest depths, one breathes a pure and cool air.

In their social aspect, too, are many mining enterprises thorough models. I have seen works where every family had its own cottage, surrounded by vines, in a very healthy situation, where the children attended schools, which can compete with the higher public schools in New York or London, where workmen, who were ill or had been injured in the mines, were received into a thoroughly modern hospital meeting all the demands of hygiene and where, for miners who had become old or invalids, was provided a home, in which every one could insure himself by relatively small contributions. The times when Mexican miners led the lives of slaves, have long since passed. Today, no laborer in the republic of Mexico is esteemed so highly or is so well treated as the miner. The lowest wage for an unskilled laborer, who has just entered the mine, is five centavos a day, and for an ordinary but skilled laborer one dollar and twelve cents, Mexican, a day; the pay increases up to ten dollars, Mexican, a day for laborers, while foremen earn from fourteen to twenty dollars, Mexican, a day. The result of this is that laborers seldom work more than seven days, and begin again only after they have spent their wages. On this account, a mine that employs three thousand workmen must maintain a staff of about seven thousand, in order to keep the work consistently up to the mark. Then, moreover, readiness to work is somewhat increased by systems of premiums.

In the mines are employed about one hundred and fifty-five thousand laborers, and in the smelting works about forty-five thousand, so that altogether about two hundred thousand are at work in the mining industry. These two hundred thousand and their families represent one million people, who therefore form one sixteenth of the population of Mexico, and who live under better conditions than the laborers in the fields or in the factories. The constant addition to the number of miners is produced by the extraordinary increase in production during recent years. The total production of metals, as has been more accurately stated above, amounts to one hundred and thirty million pesos.

As a consequence of the heavy fall in the prices of the precious metals, it is understood that about twenty-five per cent of the production results in small gains or even in loss, yet even then work is continued in the hope of better times and of the discovery of richer veins of ore. Only half of all the mines yield large and regular profits. In spite of that, no reduction in the output can be noticed anywhere. On the contrary the production increases yearly in unexpected quantity.

Now as always, the production of silver stands at the head of the output of the several metals. In one decade the value of silver exports has increased from ten to seventy million pesos. But it must not be forgotten that the net profits have steadily become smaller and that the political economy of Mexico, on account of its dependence upon a single product, silver, has been severely injured by the state of the silver market, even though the high figures of exports seem to indicate the contrary. Add to this that the once so important and remunerative exportation of Mexican silver dollars to Eastern Asia has almost entirely ceased. Whereas earlier an annual exportation of eighteen million dollars was recorded, this now amounts to barely five millions. In place of the Mexican silver dollar, the Japanese yen and French and North American coins have come into use in Eastern Asia. The Mexican silver dollar has held its old sway only in China.

On the other hand, the gold production shows not only a strong increase, but also large net profits. Whereas the value of the exports of gold, ten years ago, amounted to only one half million pesos, in the year 1902, gold to the value of nine and one half millions was exported, and for the current fiscal year, the export is reckoned at twelve millions. The copper production, too, proves very advantageous and, in consequence of the participation of the Rothschild group, has increased enormously. The value of the exportation amounted, in the past year, to seventeen and one half million pesos. The exports of all the other minerals, in the year 1902, were in value as follows: Lead, six million pesos, antimony, one half million pesos, iron, one thousand pesos, marble, one hundred thousand pesos, other metals together, sixty thousand pesos.

Mexico's one great disadvantage lies in the almost complete absence of production of iron and coal. Iron metals of excellent quality are found, and are also worked in small measure, but a really great production of iron and steel will only become possible when extensive coal-beds are discovered, because imported coals are too dear. The total production of coal of Mexico, so very poor in fuel, is estimated at one million tons yearly, and daring optimists believe that, in course of time, the output will rise to two million tons. The whole production comes almost

exclusively from the state of Coahuila, which is so remote that most states of the republic cannot use coal on account of the high charges of conveyance.

Opinions are greatly divided over the future of Mexican mining. This will really depend upon the eventual change in the present monetary system in Mexico.

OUR GOVERNMENT'S COURSE IN PANAMA

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NEW YORK

THE future historian, when he sits down to write the narrative of the establishment of the republic of Panama, will treat it as the culminating step in a movement that had been in progress for more than four hundred years. Viewed in that perspective, it is likely to appear a far less hasty proceeding than it seems to be at the present moment. The final step was swift only when contemplated by itself. Considered in connection with the long and wearisome and annoying journey which had preceded it, the wonder is not that it was taken so quickly, but that human patience had delayed so long before taking it.

I shall endeavor, in making a record of it, to treat it as completely as possible, in the light of history, for it has become historical fact. The new republic is established with the recognition of the United States and all the leading nations of the world, and the treaty by which the United States guarantees and pledges itself to maintain the independence of the republic of Panama, was ratified in the Senate by a vote of sixty-six to fourteen, so many Democrats voting for it as to make approval of the Roosevelt administration's course virtually non-partisan, and hence popular. Instead of arguing the case for the government, I shall content myself with a statement of its reasons for the action which it took, citing these as its answer to the main points of the criticism which has been made against its course.

1. Did the Roosevelt administration act too quickly in recognizing the new republic?

In considering this question, both the President and the Secretary of State, according to their official explanations of their course, recalled the long history of the efforts of the American government to pierce the Isthmus with a canal. As early as 1528 a proposal was laid before the Emperor Charles V. for the opening of such a way across the Isthmus of Panama. From that day to the present year the project continued to occupy a place among the great enterprises yet to be accomplished. It remained unfulfilled only because the experience of four hundred years had demonstrated that private effort was wholly inadequate to the purpose, and that the work must be performed, if at all, under the auspices of a government of the largest resources. There was only one such government in a position to undertake it. By a well settled policy, in which

all American nations are understood to concur, the assumption of the task by any of the great governments of Europe was pronounced to be inadmissible. Among American governments there was only one that seemed to be able to assume the burden and that was the government of the United States. To the accomplishment of this object that government had for years directed its diplomacy. It occupied a place in the instructions to our delegates to the Panama Congress during the administration of John Quincy Adams. It formed the subject of a resolution of the Senate in 1835, and of the House of Representatives in 1839. In 1846 its importance had become still more apparent by reason of the Mexican War, when a treaty was made with New Grenada in regard to it. Four years later the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was entered into between this country and Great Britain. That treaty instead of furthering the project proved to be an insuperable bar to it. During the fifty-one years of its existence, nothing was done toward the construction of a canal. It became, almost immediately after ratification, the subject of bitter attack in this country because of its violation of the Monroe Doctrine, in allowing England and other European nations to share with us control of a canal, and because of England's alleged failure to comply with its conditions. From time to time, efforts were made to have the treaty denounced, or declared by us void because of England's failure to comply with its requirements, but the American government refused steadily to take this view, holding that we were bound in honor to abide by the treaty till England should consent to its abrogation. That consent was given, and in December, 1901, a new treaty was agreed upon, the main point of which is the complete withdrawal of Great Britain from partnership with the United States in the control of any canal that may be constructed. It was to be built with American money, and controlled by Americans, and its neutrality maintained by Americans. The United States secured power "to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder," but beyond that no express power is given to fortify it, while the language of the treaty seems to amount to a prohibition in that direction. "The canal," it reads, "shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing the rules prescribed for the preservation of its neutrality, and shall never be blocked, nor shall any right of war be exercised, nor any act of hostility be committed within it."

The way now seemed clear for the construction of the canal. On January 22, 1902, the second Pan-American Conference, sitting at the City of Mexico, adopted the following resolution:—

"The Republics assembled at the International Conference of Mex-

ico, applaud the purpose of the United States government to construct an inter-oceanic canal, and acknowledge that this work will not only be worthy of the greatness of the American people, but also in the highest sense a work of civilization and to the greatest degree beneficial to the development of commerce between the American States and the other countries of the world."

Among the delegates who signed this resolution, which was adopted without dissent, was the delegate of Colombia. The next step was the decision of the United States in favor of the Panama route in preference to that of Nicaragua, and the passage of the Spooner Act in June, 1902, authorizing the President to acquire at a cost not exceeding forty million dollars the property and concession of the Panama Canal Company and to obtain from Colombia, on such terms as he deemed reasonable, control of the territory necessary for the canal. Therefore, negotiations were opened with Colombia, and in January, 1903, the Hay-Herran Treaty was agreed upon. This was ratified by the Senate and was sent to Colombia for approval by its government. While the treaty was in negotiation between the representatives of the United States and Colombia, objection was made by the Colombian government through its representatives to the first article which provided: "The government of Colombia authorizes the new Panama Canal Company to sell and transfer to the United States its rights, privileges, properties, and concessions, as well as the Panama railroad and all the shares or part of the shares of that company." The Colombian government asked to have this modified so as to read that the permission accorded by Colombia in regard to canal and railway rights should "be regulated by previous special arrangement entered into by Colombia." This request the American government refused to grant, and it was abandoned by Colombia, whose representatives signed the treaty with the full authorization as it stands in the article which is identical with that in the original draft of a treaty presented by Colombia itself through its minister to the American government in March, 1902. Some time after the treaty had been signed, the American government was surprised to learn that the Colombian government, in violation of this article, had sent notices to the canal company saying that further permission, in addition to that contained in the treaty, was necessary for the transfer of its concessions and those of the railway company to the United States, and requiring the companies to cancel all obligations of Colombia to them, and thus destroy the rights, privileges, and concessions which Colombia by the treaty solemnly authorized the canal company to sell to the United States. That, if successful, would, of course, destroy the treaty by defeating its main purpose. This was

one of many similar attacks, all instigated by the Colombian government, against the treaty which its representatives had signed, conduct which, as Secretary Hay has pointed out, is in violation of the familiar rule that "two governments, in agreeing to a treaty through their duly authorized representatives, bind themselves, pending its ratification, not only not to oppose its consummation, but also to do nothing in contravention of its terms." The attack which is believed to have been the main cause of the rejection of the treaty by the Colombian Congress was made in a report to the Colombian Senate by its canal committee in which it was held that at the end of a year all the concessions granted by the government to the Panama Canal Company would lapse, and that then Colombia could take for itself the forty million dollars which the United States had agreed to pay the Panama Canal Company. After this the treaty was rejected and the congress adjourned.

It is the contention of the American government that Colombia's course in regard to the treaty showed conclusively the hopelessness of ever getting a satisfactory agreement from her. That was the conclusion of the people of Panama, for they made up their minds that in case the treaty was rejected they would revolt, and they made elaborate preparations, months in advance, to do so, fully anticipating rejection.

This was the situation when the revolution took place on November third. President Roosevelt had become so thoroughly convinced, when the treaty was rejected, that further efforts to reach agreement with Colombia on fair and equitable terms would be useless, that his intention was, he said in a subsequent message, "to consult the congress as to whether under such circumstances it would not be proper to announce that the canal was to be dug forthwith; that we would give the terms that we had offered and no others; and that if such terms were not agreed to we would enter into an arrangement with Panama direct, or take what other steps were needful in order to begin the enterprise." In taking this position, he was acting in accordance with a sentiment expressed by Secretary Cass, in 1858, in the following official statement of the American government's attitude:—

"While the rights of sovereignty of the states occupying this region (Central America) should always be respected, we shall expect that these rights be exercised in a spirit befitting the occasion, and the wants and circumstances that have arisen. Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments, even if administered with more regard to the just demands of other nations than they have been, would be permitted in a spirit of eastern isolation, to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world, and justify the act by the

pretension that these avenues of trade and travel belong to them, and that they choose to shut, or, what is almost equivalent, to encumber them with such unjust relations as would prevent their general use."

Forty-six years had passed since that opinion was expressed, and during that time no progress had been made toward beginning the construction of the canal. Finally, Colombia had placed herself in the pathway of progress in precisely the obstructive manner which Secretary Cass had declared would not be permitted. This was the final provocation, not only to the United States but to Panama. The latter rose in revolt and declared its independence, and the United States government recognized its independent existence as a republic immediately. In justification of such prompt action, the Roosevelt administration cited the condition of affairs on the Isthmus at the moment. Panama had been accumulating material for war for several months. The Isthmus was, according to the reports of trustworthy authorities, a perfect arsenal and its people were determined to make the most desperate resistance to the efforts of Colombia to subdue them. That Colombia was also prepared is shown by the fact that at the moment when independence was proclaimed, on the morning of November third, she had a gunboat with between four and five hundred troops off Colon on the way to Panama. Secretary Hay, in his reply to General Reyes, thus defines the situation:—

"On the one hand, stood the government of Colombia invoking in the name of the treaty of 1846 the aid of this government in its efforts to suppress the revolution; on the other hand, stood the republic of Panama that had come into being in order that the great design of that treaty might not be forever frustrated, but might be fulfilled. The Isthmus was threatened with desolation by another civil war, nor were the rights and interests of the United States alone at stake; the interests of the whole civilized world were involved. The republic of Panama stood for those interests; the government of Colombia opposed them. Compelled to choose between these two alternatives, the government of the United States, in no wise responsible for the situation that had arisen, did not hesitate. It recognized the independence of the republic of Panama, and upon its judgment and action in the emergency the powers of the world have set the seal of their approval."

That civil war would have begun immediately on November third but for the intervention of the United States, is proved by the official report of Commander Hubbard, of the United States gunboat, "Nashville," who had been ordered by the American government to Colon to protect the neutrality of the Isthmus along the line of the Panama Railway. The commanding officers of the Colombian troops had asked for trans-

portation over the railway to Panama for their troops and it had been granted, but it was prohibited by Commander Hubbard as in violation of the perfect neutrality of the line of transit which the United States is bound to maintain. If Commander Hubbard had not been on the spot, the troops would have gone to Panama and civil war would have been begun on November fourth. The Colombian troops, after failing to get transportation to Panama, sought to occupy Colon on November fifth, in violation of an agreement between their commanding officers and Commander Hubbard. The latter, as soon as he learned of this intention, landed his full force of marines, only forty-two in number, for the avowed purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens if threatened, and by doing this and maintaining a cool and firm attitude in the presence of the Colombian troops when they entered the city, he prevented bloodshed and the beginning of civil war. President Roosevelt said on this point in his message of January fourth:—

“Instead of there having been too much prevision by the American government for the maintenance of order and the protection of life and property on the Isthmus, the orders for the movement of American war-ships had been too long delayed; so long, in fact, that there were but forty-two marines and sailors available to land and protect the lives of American men and women * * * It clearly appears that the fact that there was no bloodshed on the Isthmus was directly due,—and only due,—to the prompt and firm enforcement by the United States of its traditional policy.”

If civil war had once begun, how long would it have lasted, and how wide would its complications have extended? In considering this question, the President and Secretary Hay had to judge the future in the light of the past. During the previous fifty-seven years, there had been on the Isthmus no less than fifty-three revolutions, almost one a year, some of them lasting for several years, and a recent one between Panama and Colombia, extending over three years. In none of these had there been such provocation for revolt as the rejection of the treaty, or such formidable preparations for resistance. The people of Panama were convinced that their future as a community or state, financial and other, depended absolutely upon the construction of the canal. If that were built, a future of steadily increasing power and importance lay before them. If it were not built in their territory, it would be built in Nicaragua and the doom of the cities of Panama and Colon would be sounded, for even the Isthmian Railway would cease to be operated and Panama would fall into a speedy and hopeless decline. As one of the leading citizens of Panama said soon after the revolution:—

"We looked upon the building of the canal as a matter of life or death to us. We wanted that because it meant, with the United States in control of it, peace and prosperity for us.

"Notwithstanding all that Colombia has drained us of in the way of revenues, she did not bridge for us a single river, nor make a single road-way, nor erect a single college where our children could be educated, nor do anything at all to advance our industries."

Under these conditions, great provocation followed by unusual preparations for resistance, it was a reasonable supposition that civil war, once instituted, would last for several years. It was the avowed intention of Colombia to delay the whole question of a canal for a year in order to get into position to claim for herself the forty million dollars that had been promised by the United States to the Panama Canal Company. If, after a year of conflict, with the United States government constantly on guard to protect the neutrality of the Isthmus and to keep its line of transit open, Colombia had endeavored to enforce its contention that all rights and concessions to the canal company had lapsed and had reverted to herself, she would unquestionably have brought France into the conflict, for that government would be compelled to uphold the rights of its citizens who were stockholders in the canal company. Under these circumstances, it would have been very difficult for the United States to avoid being drawn into the conflict, if our government had used its power to aid Colombia in suppressing the revolt, or had refrained from exerting its influence in the direction of peace by promptly recognizing the independence of Panama. It was a case of instant recognition, or a long and bloody conflict, with possible international complications. The Roosevelt administration, called to decide between these alternatives, decided for instant recognition. As President Roosevelt put it in his message of January fourth:—

"Recognition by this government was based upon a state of facts in no way dependent for its justification upon our action in ordinary cases. I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new state should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence. This rule is derived from the principle of non-intervention, and as a corollary of that principle has generally been observed by the United States. But, like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are, in my opinion, clear and imperative reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety; and, third, the interests of collective civilization.

"Instead of using our forces, as we were invited by Colombia to do, for the twofold purpose of defeating our own rights and interests and the interests of the civilized world, and of compelling the submission of the people of the Isthmus to those whom they regarded as oppressors, we shall, as in duty bound, keep the transit open, and prevent its invasion."

2. Was there complicity between the American government, or any of its representatives, and the revolutionists?

On this point it is necessary only to cite the official utterances of the President and Secretary Hay. In his message of January fourth, the President said:—

"I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that save from the reports of our military and naval officers, given above, no one connected with this government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs."

In his reply of January fifth to the formal statement of Colombia's grievances which General Reyes made to him on December twenty-third, Secretary Hay said:—

"The press in this country is entirely free and as a necessary consequence represents substantially every phase of human activity, interest, and disposition. Not only is the course of the government in all matters subject to daily comment, but the motives of public men are as freely discussed as their acts; and if, as sometimes happens, criticism proceeds to the point of calumny, the evil is left to work its own cure. Diplomatic representatives, however, are not supposed to seek in such sources material for arguments, much less for grave accusations. Any charge that this government, or any responsible member of it, held intercourse, whether official or unofficial, with agents of revolution in Colombia, is utterly without justification.

"Equally so is the insinuation that any action of this government prior to the revolution in Panama was the result of complicity with the plans of the revolutionists. The department sees fit to make these denials, and it makes them finally."

3. Were our treaty obligations violated in refusing to aid Colombia to put down the revolution?

It is not only contended but proved by the supporters of the government's conduct, that under the treaty of 1846, the United States was bound to aid Colombia in maintaining her sovereignty only in case an effort were made to attach Panama to a foreign power. Citations from official records show a continuous line of interpretation by our secretaries of state from 1865 to the present time in accord with this dispatch from Secretary Seward to the American minister at Bogota:—

Department of State,

Washington, November 9, 1865.

To Allan A. Burton, Esq., etc., Bogota,

Sir :—The question which has recently arisen under the thirty-fifth article of the treaty with New Grenada, as to the obligation of this government to comply with a requisition of the President of the United States of Colombia for a force to protect the Isthmus of Panama from invasion by a body of insurgents of that country, has been submitted to the consideration of the Attorney-General. His opinion is that neither the text nor the spirit of the stipulation in that article, by which the United States engages to preserve the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama, imposes an obligation on this government to comply with a requisition like that referred to. The purpose of the stipulation was to guarantee the Isthmus against seizure or invasion by a foreign power only. It could not have been contemplated that we were to become a party to any civil war in that country by defending the Isthmus against another party. As it may be presumed, however, that our object in entering into such a stipulation was to secure the freedom of transit across the Isthmus if that freedom should be endangered or obstructed, the employment of force on our part to prevent this would be a question of grave expediency to be determined by circumstances. The department is not aware that there is yet occasion for a decision upon this point."

From the date of that dispatch to the present time this construction has been imposed upon the treaty of 1846 by every diplomatic agent and secretary of state in the American government. Furthermore, the Colombian government has itself accepted the same construction, for Mr. Burton, in replying to Secretary Seward's dispatch in 1865, wrote that he had opened up this subject of the construction of the treaty of 1846 with the diplomatic agents and ministers of the Colombian government, and added:—

"The result has been that the Colombian government declares that

it does not feel itself authorized by the treaty to require the aid of the United States for the suppression of an insurrection, rebellion, or other disturbance on the Isthmus on the part of the Colombian citizens; not even an invasion by another Colombian state, unless such movement be intended to detach the state of Panama from the Colombian union and to annex it to a foreign power. This would seem to leave the Isthmus free to declare itself independent of the United States of Colombia, without the fear of the forced intervention of the United States of America, provided such declaration be not accompanied by the end of annexation to a foreign power."

In support of his assertions, Mr. Burton appended the following communication to himself from Senor Garrido, diplomatic agent of the Colombian government:—

"As to the interposition due from the government of the United States by the treaty existing between the two nations in the event that an insurrection by armed force should take place on the Isthmus for the purpose of segregating it from the union, the government of Colombia understands that if such a movement should be effected with a view of making that section of the republic independent and attaching it to any other foreign nation or power,—that is to say, in order to transfer by any means whatever the sovereignty which Colombia justly possesses over that territory to any foreign nation or power whatever,—the case will then have arisen when the United States of America, in fulfillment of their obligation contracted by the thirty-fifth article of the treaty existing between the two republics, should come to the assistance of Colombia to maintain its sovereignty over the Isthmus, but not when the disturbances are confined to Colombian citizens."

That was the situation in 1846, as interpreted about twenty years later. The question was a very different one in 1903. The railway which was constructed from ocean to ocean by American capital has thirty-two stations, and at each of these there is a group of population. At one end is Colon with a population of fourteen thousand, and at the other is Panama with a population of twenty thousand. There are warehouses, storehouses, stations, yards, and cars, and other property belonging to the railway company scattered along the road's length. In addition are the dredges and machinery of the canal company which the Canal Commission estimated as worth one million dollars. The American government must consider, when confronted with the question of interrupting transit on the Isthmus, not its obligations merely under the treaty of 1846, but its inherent right to safeguard the great interests and rights of American capital invested there. When Colombia sought to

use the railway in order to institute civil war, she herself violated the treaty, for civil war would have closed the Isthmus and made necessary American intervention to reopen traffic and keep it open.

4. Was there a constitutional government in Colombia at the time of the Panama revolution?

On this point I shall follow the argument of ex-Secretary Root in his speech in Chicago on February twenty-third, last. He claimed that Panama retained an independent sovereignty as a state first in the republic of New Granada and later in the republic of Colombia, quoting from the different constitutions of those confederations to show that for nearly fifty years Panama "has never voluntarily surrendered her sovereignty." When the new constitution of Colombia was adopted in 1863, Mr. King, the American minister at Bogota, reported to the Secretary of State at Washington that under it "the states comprising the union were vested with absolute and unqualified sovereignty. From them emanated all authority, and without their assent none could be exercised by the federal functionaries of the nation." Under that constitution Panama lived as a sovereign state in coöperation with the other states of Colombia for twenty-three years. In 1885 Rafael Nunez became president. He undertook to govern in disregard of constitutional limitations, and was resisted in many parts of the republic, including Panama. He overcame the resistance and then declared that the "constitution of 1863 no longer exists." He put Panama under martial law and appointed a governor for it and for the other states. He then directed these governors to appoint delegates to a constitutional convention, and these delegates framed the constitution of 1886. The two delegates who represented Panama had never set foot in that state. The new constitution was adopted without compliance with a single one of the requisites prescribed by the constitution of 1863 for its amendment. It robbed the people of Panama of every vestige of self-government. It gave them a governor to be appointed at Bogota, and he in turn appointed all his subordinate administrative officers. The new constitution was never submitted to the people of Panama for approval or rejection. Mr. Root said of the situation at and subsequent to this subjugation: "The people of Panama fought to exhaustion in 1885 to prevent the loss of their liberty, and they were defeated through the action of the naval forces of the United States. Three times since then they have risen in rebellion against their oppressors. In 1895 they arose and were suppressed by force; in 1899 they arose again and for three years maintained a war for liberation, which ended in 1902 through the interposition of the United States by armed force. The rising of November, 1903, was the fourth attempt of this

people to regain the rights of which they had been deprived by the usurpation of Nunez."

In 1898 M. A. Sanclamente was elected president, and J. M. Maroquin, vice-president, of the republic of Colombia. On July 31, 1900, the vice-president, Maroquin, executed a "coup d'etat" by seizing the person of the president, Sanclamente, and imprisoning him at a place a few miles outside of Bogota. Maroquin thereupon declared himself possessed of the executive power because of the absence of the president. He then issued a decree that public order was disturbed, and, upon that ground, assumed to himself legislative power under another provision of the constitution. Thenceforth, Maroquin, without the aid of any legislative body, ruled as the supreme executive, legislative, civil, and military authority in the so-called republic of Colombia. The absence of Sanclamente from the capital became permanent by his death in prison in the year 1902. When the people of Panama declared their independence in November last, no congress had sat in Colombia since the year 1898, except the special congress called by Maroquin to reject the canal treaty, and which did reject it by a unanimous vote, and adjourned without legislating on any other subject. The constitution of 1886 had taken away from Panama the power of self-government and vested it in Colombia. The "coup d'etat" of Maroquin took away from Colombia herself the power of government and vested it in an irresponsible dictator.

After the revolution of Panama, General Reyes, in behalf of the Colombian government, made an offer to the American government through the American minister, to ratify the treaty, either by calling the congress together again or by decree, thus admitting that constitutional government did not exist in Colombia. The question thus placed before the government of the United States then became not one of interest, said Mr. Root, for treaty and canal were secure, but a "question of right, a question of justice, a question of national conscience." The people of Panama were the real owners of the canal route. They had never parted with their title to it, but constituted the federal government its trustee. The trustee was faithless to the trust, had repudiated its obligations, and had seized with the strong hand of military power the rights which it was bound to protect. Mr. Root's conclusion is likely to be that of the American people:—

"The question for the United States was, Shall we take this treaty from the true owner, or shall we take it from the faithless trustee, and for that purpose a third time put back the yoke of foreign domination upon the neck of Panama by the request of that government which has tried to play toward us the part of the highwayman? By all the principles of

justice among men and among nations that we have learned from our fathers, and all peoples and all governments should maintain, the revolutionists in Panama were right, the people of Panama were entitled to be free again, the Isthmus was theirs, and they were entitled to govern it, and it would have been a shameful thing for the government of the United States to return them again to servitude."

5. Was the act of recognition justified by the interests of civilization?

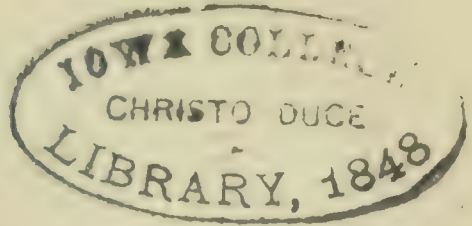
President Roosevelt firmly believed it was. He said in his message of January fourth: "I confidently maintain that the recognition of the republic of Panama was an act justified by the interests of collective civilization. If ever a government could be said to have received a mandate from civilization to effect an object the accomplishment of which was demanded in the interest of mankind, the United States holds that position with regard to the inter-oceanic canal." The civilized world very promptly confirmed this view of our position as the mandatary of civilization when through fifteen of its governments, including those of the leading nations, it recognized the independence of the new republic. Putting all other considerations aside, it is easy to discern that the great force which moved not only the United States government but the governments of the civilized world as a body forward so unanimously in this matter, was self-interest in three forms. First, the self-interest of Panama, which compelled the revolution as the only method of escape from destruction. Second, self-interest of the United States, which demands a canal for its commerce and the development of its resources. Third, self-interest of civilization throughout the world. On this point,—that an isthmian canal free to the commerce of the world is an inestimable boon to all mankind,—there is no dissenting voice. By rejecting the new treaty, for the reasons given and in the manner followed, Colombia put herself athwart the pathway of the progress of the world, and the world united to brush her aside. Then, too, there was that sympathy with Panama which always goes forth to a people striving to rid themselves of oppression. As Vattel says: "When a people for good reasons take up arms against an oppressor, it is but an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men in the defence of their liberties."

Senator Quarles, of Wisconsin, in a speech defending the course of the government on legal and constitutional grounds, said in January last: "When Panama, arising from that condition of hopeless despotism in which she has been kept by the Bogota government, held up this treaty and said to the world, 'I will permit the civilization of the world to pass through my dominion,' there was the first hopeful sign that has come

from that Isthmus for a hundred years,—the first response of civilization or progress or human liberty.”

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M D C C C C I V

MARQUIS ITO, THE JAPANESE STATESMAN

JOHN W. FOSTER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

“**I** TO was a boy of twelve when Perry’s squadron ran into the Bay of Yeddo,” is the opening paragraph of a biographer. “I was sixteen years old when Commodore Perry came to Japan,” begins Count Okuma, Ito’s compeer, in giving a sketch of his life. These citations suggest that everything in modern Japan has some dependence upon or relation to the memorable entrance into the forbidden waters of Japan of the American Commodore, at the head of a formidable squadron, bearing a letter to the Emperor from the President of the United States. That event and its consequences shaped the early life of Ito Hirobumi, and have in large measure influenced the entire career of this most distinguished of living Japanese statesmen. Therefore a notice of the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan and its antecedent history seems called for, in order to form a proper estimate of the subject of this paper.

The Perry Expedition of 1853-4 had for its object the opening of the Island Empire to diplomatic and commercial intercourse with the outside world. But this empire had not always maintained a policy of exclusion. A doubtful tradition of its people refers to an early period of intercourse with Mexico and to amicable relations with Persia many centuries ago, and authentic history gives accounts of embassies and intercourse with Korea and China dating from two thousand years ago to recent times. Japanese mariners had sailed their ships to all the countries of Asia, and from the time the first European came into the Pacific, through the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, Japanese vessels carried on commerce with India, Siam, Malacca, the Philippines, China and Corea. Japan was discovered by the Portuguese in 1542, and for a full century thereafter commercial intercourse was conducted with the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch and English.

In 1549 Francis Xavier, the great missionary apostle of the Jesuits, began the propagation of Christianity in the country, and it is estimated that in 1605 its adherents numbered 1,800,000. As indicating the prosperity of the Church and the spirit of toleration of the period, it is recorded that in 1583 an embassy of imposing *personnel* from two of the powerful princes of the empire visited Rome to wait upon the Pontiff Gregory XIII., and attended the installation of his successor, Sextus V. Friars of all orders abounded in the country, and their rivalry was a source of disturbance to the native Christians if not to the authorities. The origin of the persecution which arose is the subject of many conflicting statements, but by 1639 neither a missionary nor a merchant—Portuguese or Spaniard—was to be found in the empire, and it was supposed that every native Christian had recanted or been slaughtered. By the edict of the mighty warrior Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the landing of foreigners on the Japanese coast and the departure of natives were forbidden. Only the Dutch, not of "the evil sect," were permitted to remain, and they were shut up to the little island of Deshima, in the harbor of Nagasaki. Thenceforward for more than two centuries the liberal policy of foreign intercourse was reversed, and only through this small Dutch factory with one ship a year did the Japanese Government and people communicate with the outside world.

But this policy of exclusion was destined to be overthrown by the commercial spirit of the nineteenth century. Hardly had the independence of the United States been attained before the adventurous American merchants had sent their ships around the globe, in a few years their commercial houses had found a foothold in China, and their whaling fleets were in all the northern waters about China and Japan. The British merchants had pushed up from India and were competing with their kinsmen for the rich trade of the Far East. The British opium war of 1840 had established Hong Kong and opened the ports of Canton and Shanghai. The American Union had already extended to the Pacific coast, and a thriving commerce with the Orient was passing through the Golden Gate. The Island Empire lay in the track of commerce, its harbors were necessary ports of call for water and supplies, and its coal was a requisite for the steam vessels then just coming into general use. American and other vessels had been driven by stress of weather into the closed Japanese ports, their cargoes

plundered and the crews imprisoned and maltreated. From 1840 onward various vessels, naval and others, were dispatched by the English, American and Russian Governments seeking to communicate with the Imperial authorities, but in all instances they had been warned away.

Finally the Government of the United States decided that the time had fully come when Japan must be opened up to intercourse with other nations. This decision was to be executed through diplomatic effort backed by military display. The task was entrusted to one of the most prominent and prudent officers of the United States Navy, Commodore M. C. Perry. Preparations were made with deliberation. The officers, the scientists, interpreters, etc., to be attached to the squadron were selected with care. A collection was made of useful and curious instruments, machines and other articles representing the advanced state of civilization, as well as the presents to be made to the authorities of the Japanese Empire. Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, draughted the letter of the President of the United States addressed to "His Great and Good Friend" the Emperor of Japan, explaining to him in careful terms the objects of the mission.

President Fillmore, the Secretary of the Navy, and a numerous delegation of officials went to Annapolis to bid farewell to the Commodore, and on November 24, 1852, he passed through the Capes at Fortress Monroe and put to sea. After various delays *en route*, via the Cape of Good Hope and China, the squadron sailed into the Bay of Yeddo on July 8, 1853, and anchored off the town of Uruga. The Japanese native chronicler records: "The popular commotion in Yeddo, at the news of 'a foreign invasion' was beyond description. Rumors of an immediate action, exaggerated each time they were communicated from mouth to mouth, added horror to the horror-stricken. The tramp of war-horses, the clatter of armed warriors, the noise of carts, the parade of firemen, the incessant tolling of bells, the shrieks of women, the cries of children, dinning all the streets of a city of more than a million souls, made confusion worse confounded."

The officials, however, were not taken altogether by surprise, as they had been informed of the coming of the squadron through the Dutch factory at Deshima. The next day the Governor of Uruga came on board and gave notice that it was unlawful for foreign vessels to enter the Bay of Yeddo, and that they must depart at once and go to Nagasaki, which was the only port they could lawfully enter. This notice Commodore Perry declined to observe, and gave it to be understood that his mission was a peaceful one, but that he did not propose to withdraw till it was accomplished. Further conferences were held and some days were consumed in securing a proper delivery of the President's letter to the Emperor, the

Commodore declining to place it in the hands of any official except one of equally high rank as himself. Finally the letter was delivered in a golden box costing one thousand dollars, so the narrative states, on July 14, with much pomp and ceremony, and on July 17, the squadron sailed away, the Commodore giving the authorities notice that he was called to China, but that he would return in the spring to receive the Emperor's answer to the President's letter asking for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial intercourse.

As was to be expected, the visit of the American squadron caused great excitement in the Court of the Shogun. Copies of the President's letter were sent to all the daimios and the principal state dignitaries, and many conferences were held before the return of the Commodore, the prevailing sentiment being that the President's request should be refused and the hated foreigner sent away. The forts of Yeddo were strengthened and new ones built. Bells of the temples and metal articles of value were contributed by the nobles and wealthy for the manufacture of cannon, and before the return of the fleet three hundred thousand armed patriots had assembled at Yeddo, the Shogun's capital. On February 13, 1854, the American squadron again sailed into the Bay of Yeddo, recruited from the Navy on the Chinese station, and ten vessels of war dropped anchor, constituting the most formidable naval display ever seen in Japanese waters.

The negotiations were very soon opened, but they were destined to be prolonged through days and weeks, with visits, conferences, banquets, exchange of presents, and ceremonials, the Japanese commissioners seeking by evasion and equivocation to postpone and avoid a definite answer. The Commodore was patient, but dignified and firm, ever keeping in view the great object of his mission. Meanwhile his officers and scientists were explaining the uses of the presents they had brought. The improved firearms were tested. The locomotive was disembarked and a short railroad was put in operation. The telegraph wires were strung and that marvel of the epoch was exhibited. Manœuvres of the squadron and the various mechanical improvements of the age did not fail to impress the natives with the great physical superiority of the foreigner. The inevitable came at last, and the treaty of amity between the United States and Japan was signed March 31, 1854. It was followed in October by a similar treaty with Great Britain, with Russia in February, 1855, and with other European nations later.

This is not the place to discuss the effects of the treaty further than the subject of the present paper requires, but it may be of interest to note that last year a monument was erected by the Japanese people on the spot where the treaty was signed, in honor of Commodore Perry and to com-

memorate his great achievement. The Association having the movement in charge, the President of which was the Japanese Minister of Justice, in the circular setting forth its object, said:

"This visit of Commodore Perry was, in a word, the turning of the key which opened the doors of the Japanese Empire to friendly intercourse, and may, in truth, be regarded as the most memorable event in our annals—an event which paved the way for and accelerated the introduction of a new order of things, an event that enabled the country to enter upon the unprecedented era of national ascendancy in which we are now living."

The Japanese historian Mitsukuri, in a recent statement respecting the relations of the United States towards Japan, thus referred to this event: "Your great Commodore, Matthew C. Perry, when he sailed into the Bay of Yeddo in the month of February, 1854, became our liberator. We have erected a statue to his memory, but his fame shall be preserved in a manner more enduring than stone or brass."

The immediate effect of the treaty with the United States was to create throughout the Empire a spirit of opposition to the Shogun and a feeling of intense hatred of foreigners. After the various treaties went into effect, legations were established at or in the vicinity of Yeddo, and foreign merchants and others settled at the treaty ports. In the next few years a series of assaults on foreigners were perpetrated. Several lives were lost, among them the American Secretary of Legation was assassinated, the British Minister assaulted and his servant killed, and the American and British Legations burned. The Regent of the Shogun was assassinated because of his friendliness to foreigners.

As he grew to manhood young Ito participated fully in the frenzy of hatred which prevailed. He was a retainer of the powerful Daimio of Choshu, one of the leaders of the anti-foreign party. If he was not a participant in the burning of the British Legation, he was near at hand and privy to it. His hatred of these "invaders" of his country was so intense that at the age of twenty, he, in company with a few associates, formed the plan of going to England to study the secrets of European power, so that on their return to their native land they might be more effective in their opposition. The law was then still in force which pronounced the death penalty against those who left the country. By this act he became a *ronin*—a quasi outlaw, for whose conduct his prince or chief was no longer responsible. One of his associates was Inouye Kaoru, thereafter through life Ito's intimate friend, and one of the most useful and distinguished of Japanese statesmen. The story of their daring escape and trip to England has often been told, but with so many conflicting incidents, I venture to

repeat it as it was received from the lips of Inouye himself and almost in his own language.

Ito, Inouye, and three other young companions resolved to go abroad to learn by personal observation the actual source of the military strength and other conditions of the "foreign devils," in pursuance of a maxim of warfare they had been taught, that to fight a successful battle you must first know the condition of your enemy. After their attack and burning of the British Legation they hid themselves for a few days, and then having arranged for their passage in advance, they stealthily repaired to the house of Jardine, Matheson & Co., an English mercantile and shipping firm, in Yokohama. By this firm they were shipped on board of one of their vessels going to Hong Kong, bearing a letter to the firm's agent in that port. On arrival there they were asked by the agent what they desired to learn in Europe. Inouye alone could speak English, and he only a few words. He unwittingly answered the agent, "Navigation." So he and Ito were shipped on a sailing vessel as common sailors, making the voyage via the Cape of Good Hope. It was a long, hard and sometimes very melancholy journey. When they arrived in Liverpool all hands went ashore, leaving only the two lone Japanese on board. While they were waiting for some one to come from the company's office to receive them, they grew hungry, and Inouye, being the eldest, ventured on shore to find something to eat. As he left the ship he traced his way through the streets with a pencil and paper, so that he would not lose his way back. Soon he encountered a baker's shop, and throwing a gold sovereign over the counter, the only coin he had in his pocket, he seized a loaf of bread and ran back to the ship.

When a person from the house of Jardine, Matheson & Co. came the next day to take charge of them, they learned to their great sorrow that their prince, the Daimio of Choshu, had made open war on the foreigners and closed the narrow strait of Shimonoseki, and that the war of extermination and driving out of the foreign devils had already commenced. Although they had gone to Europe with the intention of better fitting themselves for the purpose of fighting the foreigners, yet a short stay fully convinced them of the infeasibility of such an undertaking, and when they heard that a war had already commenced, they feared the destruction of their country, and asked to be sent back to Japan, so that they might do something to avert the calamity.

Their request was complied with, and they returned in a British man-of-war, being landed in a port of their own Province of Choshu. They arrived just as the combined British, American, French and Dutch naval forces were making their attack upon Shimonoseki. They found the whole clan in a state of great excitement and confusion, being divided into two

parties, one clamoring for a continuance of war, and the other advocating surrender and peace. They threw themselves into the midst of the contending factions, preaching the folly of believing themselves able to resist the foreigners. Inouye had before been a personal attendant to the young Prince, the Heir-Apparent, and enjoyed his confidence, and largely through this influence peace was made with the allied Powers, Inouye and Ito acting as interpreters in the negotiations.

The foregoing narrative furnishes the key to Ito's character and life-work. An intense hater of the foreigner, he conceived the idea of going into their own country to learn the secret of their strength in order to use it against them. His eyes were opened by his journey to Europe. He came back to his country fully resolved to do his part to bring it out of its seclusion, and make it the equal of the most enlightened nations of the world. He had just attained manhood, and he entered upon his work with the same resolution which led him to undertake the long and unknown journey to Europe.

Although still a young man, he took an active part in the stirring events which followed the opening of the ports, as a result of Commodore Perry's visit. I need not rehearse the conflict carried on between the Shogun and the adherents of the Emperor, which resulted in the restoration of the latter to the full sovereignty of which his predecessors had been deprived for centuries. Nor can I pause to tell the story of that other equally important event when the powerful daimios voluntarily surrendered their feudal rights and landed estates, and made the Mikado the real ruler of the Empire. Ito's first connection with political affairs was in his native province. His prince, the Daimio of Choshu, was slow in learning the lesson which Ito had so soon mastered, and for a time the latter was subject to much persecution, and often his life was in danger; but when the tide of public opinion began to turn in favor of the liberal policy, he was appointed to the important post of Governor of Hiogo Kobe. This brought him into intimate relation with the Emperor's advisers, and from that time he has played an important part in his country's history.

In 1869 he made his first official visit abroad, being sent by the Treasury Department to the United States to study our system of finance. He was received by President Grant with great kindness, the Secretary of the Treasury opened to him all official avenues of information, and he returned to Japan laden with information, and with a kindly feeling for our Government and people. After a brief stay at home, he was again sent abroad. This time he was made a member of the famous Iwakura embassy of 1871, numbering about fifty persons of prominence. It was received with much distinction in the United States and by most of the governments of Europe.

Probably no diplomatic mission ever sent to our country attracted so much attention or created so deep an impression on our public men and our people. Prince Iwakura, the head of the embassy, was a man of high order of talents, had taken a leading part in bringing the nation out of its seclusion, and had been greatly honored by the Emperor. James G. Blaine, then Speaker of the House, was the spokesman of Congress in welcoming the embassy, which he did in his best vein; but the distinguished audience was surprised to listen to a response from the Prince more than matching the Speaker in eloquence, in literary finish and in breadth of statesmanship.

Ito's knowledge of English and of American life made him a most useful member of the embassy. His address on landing in San Francisco attracted general attention, and during the visit of the embassy to the various cities of the country he took a prominent part in the receptions. The main object the Japanese Government had in view was to secure a revision of the treaties with the foreign Powers. It failed in this purpose, but the embassy had other important results. It impressed the nations visited with the high grade of culture and ability of the ruling classes of Japan; and on the other hand it opened to the numerous body of officials which constituted the embassy a new view of Western civilization and power. Ito and his associates returned to their native land to enter with new zeal upon the work of regeneration and reform.

The subject which had been the primary object of the embassy—the revision of the treaties—was one which was destined to absorb the attention of the statesmen of Japan for the next twenty years. Ito took an active interest in it from its inception, and he had the great honor and satisfaction of being at the head of the Government when the long-sought desire of the country was finally realized. When Perry's squadron opened up the country and, as Secretary Seward expressed it, "gently coerced Japan into friendship with us," the treaties which were framed by the United States and other nations followed the terms of the treaties which had been made by them with China only a few years anterior. These instruments contained two features which soon became both inconvenient and mortifying to Japan. First, they provided that foreign residents should be exempt from the judicial control of the country, and they were made subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their own Consuls, applying to them what is known in international law as extraterritoriality. Second, a low tariff was stipulated on imports and exports, on most articles not exceeding five *per centum ad valorem*, and this tariff could not be changed except by consent of the treaty Powers, which practically required to be unanimous on their part. These became the chief topics of diplomatic discussion with the Western nations.

With its near neighbors, Corea and China, it had relations of quite a different character, and in these we find Ito taking an active part from the time he returned with the Iwakura embassy in 1873 up to the late Boxer outbreak. He is a man of peaceful inclinations, and the main object of his continuous efforts in these relations has been to prevent war. China, from its great superiority in population, its greater antiquity, and from the fact that it had given to Japan its language, literature, arts and religion, looked upon the Japanese as an inferior people and usually assumed towards them an aggressive attitude. The Corean difficulty was tided over in 1873, but ten years later the question was up again in a still more threatening manner and war seemed imminent. Ito was sent to China to negotiate, and he effected with Li Hung Chang, at Tientsin, a settlement in the treaty of 1885, which it was thought would overcome troubles for the future, but which proved a vain hope. It was at this time that Ito formed the acquaintance with this great Chinese statesman which ripened into a friendship lasting till the latter's recent death.

The great achievement of Ito's career has been the framing of the Constitution, under which the Emperor gave to his people a representative and parliamentary system of government. When he took his coronation oath he promised this reform, and as soon as expedient after the pacification of the country following the fall of the Shogun and the new relations established with the outside world, he set about a realization of his promise. The preparation of the Constitution which was to be the foundation of this reform was intrusted to Ito, and to it he devoted several years of careful study, in the course of which he made a visit to Europe to examine the various systems of government in actual operation, as he had familiarized himself with that of the United States on his previous visits. We are not surprised to learn that he made a careful study of the "Federalist," and that he found it more fascinating than a novel; nor that he entertained for the framers of the American Constitution the greatest admiration and appreciation of their abilities.

Under his supervision, also, more than that of any other public man, have the codes of law been framed and put in operation by which the entire system of jurisprudence, of society and commerce, and the administration of local and national affairs have undergone a complete transformation. It is the marvel of history that changes which have cost other nations centuries of struggle and bloodshed, should in this Asiatic country have been accomplished within a single generation and with so little hardship endured by its people. How great is the achievement may be measured in some degree by the contemporaneous history of China. That country, in the last century, received ruder shocks at the hands of the Western nations

and the object-lessons given it of its weakness and inferiority in government have been much more conspicuous than in the case of Japan. But it is to-day very little nearer the inauguration of the needed reforms in administration, society and jurisprudence than one hundred years ago. It required in the case of Ito only one trip to England as a youth and a look about him of a few weeks to teach him the needs of Japan. It is the sad fate of China that as yet not a single man of intelligence and courage has arisen with capacity and power sufficient to lead that great people out of their thralldom to the past.

But constitutions and codes of law were, in the estimation of Ito and his compeers, not the only needs of Japan. Every effort was put forth to take advantage of the improvements in commerce, the arts and education. Young men went in large numbers abroad for study and observation and to familiarize themselves with the new inventions, while the Government brought to Japan instructors in all the various departments of education and commerce. But Ito's idea of reform went farther. He laid great stress on the necessity for a change in dress. He claimed that unless these barriers were broken down the Japanese would be regarded only as Asiatics, with Oriental semi-civilization, and that a prejudice would exist which would retard the progress of the country. Said a very intelligent and liberal-minded Englishman of Shanghai, long a resident of China, to me: "There is no hope for China till her people change their dress. What respect can you have for a man in petticoats?"

After his return from the Iwakura embassy, Ito entered the Imperial Cabinet as Minister of Public Works, at the age of thirty-two, and afterwards held other posts in the Cabinet. He became Prime Minister in 1886, in which position he continued for three years, and in 1892 a second time was he called to this high office. During this latter term of four years he conducted his country through one of the most important epochs in its history, in which two events occurred which have had a momentous influence not only upon Japan, but upon all the leading nations of the world. The first of these was the Chino-Japanese war. While the army and the navy of the Island Empire were making for themselves a high place among the military powers, the task fell to Ito of providing the financial resources to carry on the contest, and when the short campaign was over he conducted the negotiations which brought about the peace.

In the hour of his country's triumph, he was forced to suffer a humiliation which cost him his office, but left no stain upon his honorable career. I think I am safe in saying that when Count Ito exacted from Li Hung Chang in the treaty of peace the cession of the Liaotung peninsula, he did it against his own better judgment. While it was a legitimate demand on

the part of the victor, he was too thoroughly conversant with the spirit which controlled the Russian Government to believe it would prove for his country a permanent acquisition. But he was compelled by the martial spirit which was then rampant and controlled the Court to insert in the treaty the cession of the peninsula. The far-sighted policy of Russia which brought France and Germany to her support, took from Japan the most highly prized of its spoils of war and reserved it as her early prey. The event left Japan in bad humor with her own statesman, and the inveterate enemy of Russia.

The other distinguishing event of Ito's second term as Prime Minister was the revision of the treaties, which released the Empire from the tutelage of the foreign Powers, and gave it an equal place among the sovereign nations. Its achievement was one of the first effects of the complete victory over China. The United States had long been an advocate of the policy recognizing this equal sovereignty, and as early as 1878 had made a treaty with Japan by which full power was conferred upon the latter to make her own tariff and regulate for herself her commercial affairs, and apply to foreigners her judicial system; but as the "most favored nation" principle was a necessary part of our intercourse with foreign nations, the enforcement of such a treaty had to be deferred until the other commercial nations could be brought to the same terms. Embassies had been sent to Europe and repeated efforts through the foreign Ministers resident at Tokio had been made with a view to a release from the treaty disabilities, but these efforts proved fruitless until through the signal victories over the Chinese she had vindicated her place among the nations. In the year following the war Great Britain signified her willingness to yield to the demands of Japan and revise the treaties, and her action was followed by France, Germany, Russia and the other Powers. The tariff disabilities were removed and all extraterritorial rights of foreigners were withdrawn, and for the first time in her history Japan stood before the world as a free and sovereign nation. It was a great triumph for the Prime Minister, but much of the credit for this achievement was due to Count Mutsu, his able Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had likewise been associated with him in the peace negotiations with China.

There is still to be mentioned an important result of Ito's second term. In a recent interview which he gave out from London, in referring to the great changes which had occurred in his country in the last thirty years, he places in the front rank the commercial development and the wonderful growth of the mercantile marine. The Chinese war had a marked effect upon this industry, and during Ito's administration its enlargement was placed upon a solid foundation. He states that since the Chinese war the

tonnage of the merchant marine has increased from 80,000 to over 500,000, while the total capitalization of stock companies and other commercial enterprises has advanced from \$25,000,000 to over \$250,000,000, or more than tenfold.

In the interview to which reference has been made his characteristic trait as a lover of peace appears. He places this commercial development high above the warlike achievements of the nation, and he dwells upon the great value of credit in business affairs to a people. He recognizes that Japan has suffered in the past from its reputation of lack of honor and fair dealing among its mercantile class. He admits that the foreign merchants who followed Commodore Perry's coming found a low grade of commercial morality, but he justly asserts that the first foreign merchants with whom the Japanese came in contact were themselves not over-scrupulous in their dealings. He attributes much of this unfavorable reputation to the evils of the treaty-port system. The following extract from his interview will be of interest as giving a good epitome of the commercial and social changes which have taken place in recent years:

"Happily the conditions have changed. Class distinctions and treaty ports are of the past. Merchants sit in the Diet; even the Eta, who had no class at all, has risen to that distinction. Intermarriage is legal between any two grades of society, so that the grades have practically disappeared. The samurai as a class do not exist, for with the abolition of the feudal system reason for their being disappeared. Even the forms of speech which formerly indicated differences in rank are modifying. In social relationships the old barriers are down. Japan is becoming democratic. In this process of readjustment the merchant class has profited greatly. The opportunities of trade, both from the national and the individual standpoint, have appealed to all conditions of men. . . . The sons of wealthy nobles are in counting-houses abroad studying foreign methods, prominent merchants are putting their sons in business colleges and are apprenticing them in foreign commercial houses, and the Government has established commercial schools of a high order throughout the Empire. The old-time merchant is gone, if not forgotten, and in his place is a new sort, trained and experienced, with the honor of this country and his profession at heart and an adequate idea of the value of integrity in commercial transactions. . . . The reports of foreign Consuls in Japan indicate that decisions of the Japanese courts are just, and as extraterritoriality is a thing of the past, this should be an evidence of Japan's good faith and determination to maintain a place high and honorable in the comity of nations."¹

The disappointment and humiliation resulting from the forced retro-

¹ Marquis Ito's interview in the New York Independent Feb. 20, 1902.

cession of the Chinese territory occasioned a change of Cabinet, and Ito, notwithstanding he had been created a Marquis by the Emperor in recognition of his great services, was temporarily retired to private life. But he has twice since then held the office of Prime Minister, in 1897 and in 1900, the parliamentary system of government and the various party divisions having of late years brought about frequent changes of ministries. One of the latest reforms which Ito has sought to effect was the abolition of clan parties, which is a residuum of the old feudal system. He has made an effort to organize a party of modern methods with the enunciation of a specific policy or principles.

Although the Emperor often finds it necessary to yield to the demands of the parties and change his Ministers from time to time, Marquis Ito, even when not at the head of affairs, is seldom allowed to remain in private life. Following the deposition of the Emperor of China and the resumption of control by the Empress Dowager when a violent change in affairs was imminent, he was sent to Peking on a secret mission to the Imperial Court. The Boxer outbreak occurred too soon after his arrival to enable his mission to be effective, but the appointment indicates the high estimate which the Emperor places upon his services.

A short time ago he visited the United States for the fourth time, when he was the chief guest of honor at the bi-centennial of Yale University, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws. From this country he passed to Europe, it being given out that his visit was for health and recreation. But the signature of the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Japan which so greatly surprised the Powers occurred so soon after his arrival in London that the sequence of these two events naturally led to the inference that he had much to do with the consummation of the alliance which is destined to exercise such an important influence in the affairs of the Orient.

The war with Russia, in which his country is now engaged, was declared under the premiership of another statesman; but the Emperor has kept in close communication with the veteran adviser, by whom he has been guided in the trying crises of his illustrious reign, and it is not to be doubted that his experience and judgment will be availed of by his Sovereign in this crucial period of the Empire.

Marquis Ito has just passed his sixtieth year, and it is reasonable to anticipate that much important work is before him in life. But there are few, if any, living men who have accomplished so much for their country and race. His biography is the history of Japan for the past forty years. He has had worthy coadjutors in the making of this marvelous history, but in the temple of fame which modern Japan shall erect to its heroes none will stand so high as Ito Hirobumi.

THE WEST IN THE EAST

MAX NORDAU.

PARIS

JAPAN, somewhat paradoxically, is included in the forward movement of the White Race which is to bring China under the influences of the West. The authors of this movement imagine that they understand the reason for their action, and the forces of which they dispose. Deep-seated, unconscious impulses, forces which escape the control of politicians and responsible statesmen, do not seem to play a part in the undertaking. It appears rather to be placed entirely in the sphere of clear consciousness and of voluntary effort.

A closer investigation will perhaps allow us to perceive that the unconscious and the instinctive are at work to-day as in the fourth and twelfth centuries, and that the inspirers of China adventure have scarcely rendered account to themselves of the deep roots and the more distant consequences of their action.

I.

Much of Darwin's teaching has been successfully attacked, but the law of the struggle for life has never been doubted by anyone. It pervades all life; astronomers even have tried to prove that the evolution of the heavenly bodies is governed by this principle.

Every living being, be it animal or plant, has the fundamental tendency to possess itself of the whole globe, and to use exclusively all its resources for the advantage of itself and its progeny. This impulse towards expansion and exclusive rule is limited, first, by unfavorable natural conditions, and second, by the similar impulse of other living beings. To the unfavorable natural conditions the living being must seek to adapt itself. It comes in competition with others of its kind in the struggle for existence. If one living being proves stronger than the other, the latter is expelled from its habitat or is destroyed. The victor maintains only so much of the globe as he can defend and utilize, and suffers the presence of the vanquished just in so far as he is of service.

The human species is subject to these elementary laws of biology just as much as are the microscopic algæ.

Man is the highest product of the evolution of life. His general power of adapting himself to circumstances, and the capacity of his central nervous system for development, render him more efficient in the struggle for existence than any other living being on the earth. He alone has approached near to the ideal of all living creatures, the exclusive mastery of the globe, and at some time he may attain this end. The animals which annoy him,

be they large felines or small cats, venomous serpents or locusts, he destroys. The animals which are useful or give him pleasure, be they cattle or singing-birds, goldfish or bees, he suffers to exist. In the vegetable world he rules as master. He tears up the natural forest and dries the marshes and cultivates plants in the place of reeds and trees. He has also taken up the struggle with microscopical plants, with bacteria and micrococci, and seeks to destroy the pathogenic among them and to develop the useful—the saccharomyces which prepare his beer, or Winogradski's root bacillus which transforms the nitrogen of the air into nourishment for plants.

The struggle for the exclusive rule of the globe is not only between the human species and all other living creatures, but it is also carried on within the human species itself, by the White Race against the Colored Races.

I will not now discuss the question as to whether the human species was originally unique, and in the course of its evolution differentiated itself into sub-species, or whether the races which to-day are dissimilar, descend directly from ancestors, who, when they reached the human phase of their evolution, were already of closely related but different species. Our globe is inhabited by various races of men, but the White Race is the most powerful, and asserts its pre-eminence.

Where the White Race first made its appearance palæontology and anthropology can as yet give no definite answer. It seems even in Europe to have been preceded by Colored Races, for the Cro-Magnon and Neanderthal crania are very unlike the skulls of white men, and the images of pre-historic men carved and engraved in ivory and deer-horn in the museum of St. Germain show clearly negro or negroid types in the face formation and in the shape of the mammæ on the female busts. Our negro-like predecessors in Europe were either completely driven out or destroyed by the White Race. The insignificant survivors mixed their blood with that of their conquerors. Their type sometimes emerges atavistically, because of arrests of development or degenerative processes, evident in the case of criminals. At the dawn of history Europe and Nearer Asia are almost completely under the rule of the White Race, and all of the recorded struggles of which these territories were the theatre are between White peoples and not between the White and the Colored.

Some of the peoples of the Mediterranean were the first white men to swarm over the frontiers of the territories earliest accredited to their race, and break into the lands of the Colored tribes. In pre-historic times, Arabs from nearer Asia and Berbers, who came either from Europe or from the vanquished Atlantis, took possession of North America. In historic times Phœnicians, Romans and Germans invaded and colonized North African

territories. The Negroes, driven by the Whites from the coast lands of the Mediterranean, retreated into the interior of Africa. Greeks subjugated Egypt, where there were but few Whites among the original inhabitants, and came for a time, under Alexander the Great, into armed conflict with mixed Yellow tribes inhabiting India. However, the White people remained during Antiquity and the Middle Ages in the territories where they were at the beginning of history.

By the end of the fifteenth century the great work of differentiation and territorial delimitation of the principal peoples of Europe was almost completed, and the White Race began to look beyond the limits of its inherited continent. The era of great sea voyages began. America was discovered. The White and the Red Races came into conflict. The struggle between them lasted three centuries. In North America this conflict has practically been concluded for a century past. The wrecks of the aboriginal tribes in Canada and the United States are under the protective care of the Whites, the unchallenged masters of the country. In Mexico, Central America, and certain countries of South America, the struggle is yet without definite issue. Many Colored Races show inclination and capacity for higher civilization, and, with the help of education, an ability to maintain themselves against the white invaders. But here, too, the final result is not doubtful. Under the most favorable conditions the Colored people will mix with the Whites, and sacrifice their ethnical features. Under the pressure of adverse circumstances, they will awake to a consciousness of their individuality and, educated by civilization to jealous, exclusive nationalism, will try to resist by force the influence of the Whites. They are inevitably doomed to extermination. We therefore can say that America has been annexed by the White Race.

After America, Australia was invaded, and now there are no Colored people in Tasmania. There are only a few Colored people on the Continent; the Maoris in New Zealand and the Papuas on the Hawaii Islands are becoming civilized and will sooner or later be absorbed by the Whites; the Canaks of Micronesia are rapidly disappearing before the onslaught of civilization.

Africa lies near to, and has always been in constant communication with, the most advanced of the European countries; but, strange to say, it did not excite the desire of the White Race until after America and Australia were invaded. Until comparatively recent times the Whites have contented themselves with the annexation of the coasts and the carrying off of kidnapped Negroes to foreign countries. In the seventeenth century began the first serious move from the Cape against the countries settled by the Blacks. But it was reserved for the nineteenth century to see the whole

of the Black Continent partitioned among the nations of Europe. Morocco and Abyssinia have thus far escaped this fate. In Morocco, the ruling class of Arabic-Berber Moors is white. The Abyssinians, in spite of a strong mixture of Negro blood, also refuse to be regarded as a Colored Race. Morocco will, however, sooner or later, share the fate of Algeria, Tunis and Egypt, and it is not improbable that Abyssinia ultimately will be owned by Russia. It is difficult to know whether the Negroes will disappear before the Whites in Africa. The climate of Central Africa may be a protection and prevent the Whites from settling there permanently as they have done at the Cape, in America, and in Australia. But in any case the Negroes at the present time are, throughout the whole of their hereditary continent, a subjugated race. The Whites are everywhere their masters, and it is not probable that this condition will ever change. Mr. Rudyard Kipling does not go far ahead of history when he counts the guardianship over all African races as part of "the White Man's burden."

At the beginning of this twentieth century, the White Race holds Europe, America, Australia and Africa as its almost unchallenged possession, and has partly exterminated and partly subjugated the Red and Black Races, suffering them to exist only because they can render some service.

The moment has now come when the White Race will measure itself with the last Colored Race which has maintained itself in full independence—the Yellow Race. After America, Australia and Africa, the still autonomous part of Asia shall be brought into subjection. The immediate pretexts for the last expedition towards China seemed to be for political and economic reasons. Russia needs ice-free harbors in the Pacific, stretches her hand towards Port Arthur, Manchuria, Chi-Li and Corea. Japan seeks to outstrip Russia, at least in Corea. France, which after her severe misfortunes in Europe, feels the necessity of regaining self-confidence, has, after Tunis, taken Tonking, Annam and a part of Siam, and throws her shadow over Yun-Nan, Kwang-Si and Hai-Nan. England, which long ago obtained a firm footing in China, demands the recognition of Central China as her sphere of influence. Germany, keeping pace with her rivals, has seized her part. The United States, which rightly fears the selfish commercial policy of the European Powers, demands opportunities for trade. The occult motive-power of these movements, however, is the craving of the White Race for the accomplishment of its destiny on the earth, for the imposition of its exclusive rule over the globe. The conquest of the East is Natural History; it is a decisive chapter of anthropology, one might almost say of zoology.

II.

It is no hazard that the White Race will measure its strength against the Yellow only after it has subjugated all other colored races. Just as the anthropological or zoological instincts impelled it to test its organic superiority over the Red and Black man, the same instinct warned it not to estimate the Yellow man a weaker adversary than the Red and Black.

Asia can be reached from Europe on foot. It was known to the Europeans very early as the mysterious fountain-head of religions, tales and legends. The splendor of its world-empires blazed far away to the West, and undoubtedly among the old Gauls and Germans tales of the wealth of its countries and the magnificence of its cities were current. In spite of so many elements of attraction, it was long before Europe thought of regarding the splendors of Asia as close at hand, or of claiming her share thereof. The adventure of Alexander the Great, who advanced as far as India, found no imitators for a millennium and a half. Egypt did not penetrate beyond Palestine. Rome, and afterwards Byzantium, possessed Nearer Asia only as far as it was inhabited by white peoples.

Europe alone found courage to approach the Yellow Asia during the last four centuries. Portugal and Holland, for a long time, contented themselves with commercial settlements. Russia first appeared as the conqueror when, in the sixteenth century, she subjugated Siberia by the sword. England and France first followed this example in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not until we pass into the nineteenth century that we witness the great warlike undertakings of the European Powers in Yellow Asia. Not until the twentieth century did Europe lay hands on the borders and the outworks of the Asiatic fortress. Holland contented herself with the Malay Islands, where she had small and mutually jealous native states, rendered weak by their divisions. Russia conquered the lowest and most undeveloped tribes of the Yellow family, the Toonguse, the Chookchi and other half-savages of Siberia, and, in our generation, the nomadic peoples of Central Asia. England and France have to do with the internally disorganized states of India and Indo-China, the most advanced outposts of the Yellow Race. The chief organizations of the Yellow Race are China and Japan. Europe, until this present war, has never ventured to pick a quarrel with Japan. Europe, in the nineteenth century, has come repeatedly into armed conflict with China, and has been able to wrench from her certain harbors, parts of the coast-line and frontier provinces. On the whole, however, her organism has been little affected by these local crises. And so long as China, with its immense extent of territory and its four hundred million inhabitants, remain unshaken, we cannot say that Europe

has brought Asia under its power, or that the White has overcome the Yellow man.

A decisive turn towards the great contest with the Yellow Race has just begun. But the undertaking, thus far, has made little progress and the anthropological question is without issue. Is our race destined to an exclusive rule over the globe? Will it displace the Yellow Race, reduce it to a condition of servitude, or will the conflict result in a humiliation? Will it hear the stern command, "Thus far and no farther"? Will it be forced to accord to the Yellow man equal rights, and share with him the possession of the earth? Will it be compelled to come to a halt on the frontiers of East Asia, after having brought all other continents into its power?

Whoever looks over the course of the world's history will feel, necessarily, a certain anxiety.

The superiority of the White Race over the Red and Black was never questioned. In North America the Red Race never raised itself above the first stage of economic development; above the primitive pursuits of hunting and fishing, and the rudimentary work of their home industries. In Central America the Red man had reached state organization and the professional specialization of industries, but was still in the stone and bronze period, when first attacked by the Whites. The Black man seems incapable of grasping collective tasks, and of submitting himself to the political discipline which they demand. He can construct neither states, nations, nor societies. He is an everlasting anarchist and individualist, and therefore the predestined prey of any organized invader.

Quite different are the relations of the White man to the Yellow man. The latter is no savage. He is not a barbarian, as is sometimes alleged in Europe. He was highly civilized when the White man was a tattooed cannibal. He boasts of old and important discoveries. He is accomplished in the arts and in science. He has strong social tendencies and a well co-ordinated state organization. By what right do we look with arrogance upon the Yellow man and regard ourselves as his superior?

We are not physically better than the Yellow man. The Japanese and the South Chinese are smaller than White men, but the North Chinese and the Manchurians are quite as tall or taller. We think ourselves handsomer, but only because we form our ideal of beauty from our own appearance. No dweller of our globe can decide whether an inhabitant of Mars, equally different from us and the Yellow man, would consider that we were the better looking.

We reproach the Yellow man with a lower morality and a tendency to lie. We thereby commit the gross mistake of comparing quantities of two different orders with one another. We measure the teachings of our wisest

and most virtuous minds as they are expressed in our noblest books against the men in flesh and blood in China. We compare the Bible, the ethics of Spinoza and the characters say, of George Eliot's novels with the concrete Chinese in the Yamen of a provincial chief town or in the coolie quarter of Canton. This is unjust and unreasonable. We must either compare ideal with ideal, abstraction with abstraction, or concrete with concrete, men with men. Then we will find that we cannot reproach the Yellow man. On the one hand the classical writings of China teach just as high morality, and as noble wisdom as do our best writings, and, on the other hand, the inhabitants of our slums are no better than the coolies, and our professional politician does not love truth more than does the lying mandarin. The Chinese, even of the lowest class, is well-bred, and their politeness has excited the aggressive hilarity of rough Europeans. His respect for law can be appreciated only by White people of the highest mental development. He loves and honors his parents, and is greatly attached to his family. He does not drink, and if he indulges in opium-smoking, we have no right to reproach him, as we have practically forced this vicarious vice upon him. He is an indefatigable, dextrous, conscientious worker, and an honest merchant. His word is as good as a writ, and Europeans prefer to deal with him rather than with many of those of their own kind whom they meet in the harbors and towns of the Far East. He is modest in his tastes and frugal almost to abstemiousness. Freedom from actual suffering is all that he requires to be happy. He has a great craving for knowledge of the kind that he appreciates, and nowhere is the teacher surrounded with such esteem as in China. Such is the moral aspect of the Chinese.

The hyperesthesia of our nervous system, the organic source of our eternal discontent and restlessness, is the sharp spur to all progress. We know much more than the Yellow man, and our knowledge has given us a great technical superiority over him. This does not necessarily prove that we are the better race. Superior impressionability of the nervous system undoubtedly imparts to life a richer tenor of enjoyment and suffering, with, however, an excess of suffering; but this is perhaps, in the long run, a biological disadvantage, and exposes us to greater danger and to earlier ruin than would a certain degree of bluntness. It cannot, therefore, be decided offhand whether the fittest would be the hyperesthetic or the anesthetic. It is, further, rash for us to deny to the Yellow Race a capacity equal to our own in natural science and the technical application of its doctrines, as they undoubtedly are our equals in pure speculation, in philosophy and ethics. The Japanese have already made remarkable discoveries in physiology and experimental pathology, and Professor Kitasato is spoken of with respect

by every European savant. The compulsion of outward circumstances may, perhaps, in the case of the Yellow man, replace the inward stimulus which incites the White man to scientific labors, and may bring about an emulation in investigation and experimentation, the result of which cannot be foreseen.

An eudæmonist may, from his philosophical standpoint, maintain that knowledge is not its own end, but that its aim is a better adaptation to circumstance, the amelioration of the conditions of life, and, in the last instance, the augmentation of the eudæmonistic sensations. Now, the Yellow man is undoubtedly more contented and, subjectively, more happy than the White man. Is this not a proof that his civilization, by roads different from ours, namely, the increase of happiness, reaches more rapidly and surely the real aim of all civilization, that it is, therefore, from an eudæmonistic standpoint, superior to ours.

The White man is fond of speaking of his right to subjugate the Colored man to his will. He bases this right on his higher culture. This is conscious or unconscious self-deception. The real and only root of his alleged right is not moral, but purely biological: he is the stronger. Has our alleged right to impose our will on the Yellow race even a biological justification? Are we, if not morally and intellectually the superior, at least the stronger? To this question history furnishes a reply that should make the White man stop to reflect.

Until the present period the White Race did not raise its hand against the Yellow Race, but on the contrary it had to assume the defensive, and in every collision between the two races the White Race was shamefully worsted. Let us pass over the prehistoric conflicts of which the Mahâbhârata gives account, and the struggle between the Semites and the Sumerians, for we do not know with any degree of certainty to what race Hanuman and his people in India and the Sumerians in South Babylon belonged. In historical times we know of the invasion of the Huns under Attila in the fifth century, the Magyars under Arpad in the ninth, the Mongolians under Batu Khan in the thirteenth, and the Turks from the fourteenth century onwards, and in each instance the Yellow man vanquished the White man. The Huns swept over the whole of Europe, and in France they almost reached the Atlantic Ocean. The Bulgarians, somewhat later, actually roamed as far as Bordeaux. The Huns went back to Asia of their own free will, because their primitive country was more attractive to them than the conquered and devastated Europe. The Bulgarians remained in the Balkan peninsula. The Magyars have maintained their position on the plains of the Danube and Theiss to the present day. The Mongolians forced their way as far as Silesia, and then, after a last victory

at Liegnitz, returned towards Russia, where many of them remained. The Turks became masters of the Byzantine Empire, and still rule a large part of it. When the Yellow Race set out to invade Europe they were not repulsed. They were a terror to us. They massacred, burned and robbed in Europe. Wherever they settled in Europe they successfully held their own, and the White race never could expel even a single group of the Yellow invaders from that part of the world which they regarded as particularly their own. The history of the collisions between the two races is entirely to the advantage of the Yellow Race. We may murmur "*Vestigia terrent.*" If the number of victories in the battlefield is to determine the superiority of one or other of the races, we have every reason to withhold our decision, if we do not at once admit pessimistically that the evidence is against us.

It is easy to see what has driven the Christian Powers to China. We must distinguish between the immediate and the real cause. The late Boxer movement, the attacks on the native Christians and the foreign missionaries, the siege of the Legations, were but pretexts on the part of the Europeans who desired to take possession of China. The White men no longer feel comfortable in their own countries. They have, thanks to the progress of their civilization, risen to a standard of life which their means no longer enable them to maintain.

Why does the open country become depopulated? Why does the population stream into the large towns, and leave stable and plough to surrender itself to the machine and the factory? Because the industry of small landed proprietors, limited by the density of the population of Europe, no longer furnishes the means to satisfy the material and intellectual necessities of life. The laborer who possesses only a small field between the 35th and 65th degree of latitude cannot, with the greatest effort and frugality, earn the means to buy wheat or rye bread and meat daily, to smoke tobacco and drink wine, beer or brandy, to live in a house containing several well-furnished rooms, to heat his house several months in the year and light it each evening with petroleum, to dress himself and family in clothes of good quality, read a newspaper, have a railway station near by, a free school for his children, and receive visits of the postman several times a day. These great and varied luxuries of civilization, the cost of which few people work out, cannot be paid by the small peasant. His field does not allow him to employ his working capacity to advantage, and he therefore deserts agriculture for industry. In the industrial field his labor is used to the best advantage. He earns the money that will gratify his natural and artificial wants as a civilized white man. Everything, therefore, tends towards industry. The population neglects the ungrateful production of raw mate-

rial, and will only create the better-paying industrial goods. There is, consequently, an over-production, and the national economy can be carried on only when the nation succeeds in disposing at a fair price of the mass of its commodities.

The market is in our time the great anxiety of all Governments, the aim of every statecraft. The fear of crises and of complete industrial bankruptcy spurs the national egoism to ferocity and overshadows the reasoning faculties of the responsible leaders of the nations. One country shuts itself up by a protective tariff against the other. Each one thinks only of selling as much as possible to his neighbor and of taking as little as possible from him. One White nation no longer resorts to arms to force upon another White nation its industrial products. But the White nations are destined to force their custom upon the Yellow Race. England captured the Indian market with the sword, and held it by the superiority of its industry. This superiority does not exist to-day. The moment is near when the other White Races will dispute this market with England. What will England do? Will she shut the competitors out of India by high tariffs, or suffer the loss of the market? The White Nations propose to manufacture goods and force a sale at arbitrary prices upon the Yellow man, and from this market thus brutally seized they will try to shut out competition.

This is the enchainment of cause and effect. The economic organization of the present day does not permit the White man to live as well as he would like. He desires to escape from his uneasiness. If he were alone in the world, he would make a great intellectual effort to discover the exact reason of his discomfort, and find a rational and lasting remedy. Since he is not alone in the world, and the Colored man is near him, or, to speak more exactly, the four hundred million Yellow men, the first thought that occurs to him is, "let us fall foul of the Yellow men. We are the stronger. We have therefore the right to subjugate him. He shall serve us. He shall give us money. He shall work for us, so that we can maintain the standard of life." This requires less brain effort than to discover a rational remedy, but it is not a happy thought. The method which Europe adopted to rid herself, at least for some time, of economic discomfort was a false one, because the premises were false.

The Powers, in their attack upon East Asia, presuppose that the White Race is superior to the Yellow Race, and has, on account of this superiority, the right to dictate laws according to its good pleasure. This superiority (in its broadest sense) has, however, not been established.

The people of East Asia need to purchase European and American industrial products, but in a very limited measure. It will perhaps be pos-

sible by peaceful means gradually to open this market to our wares. If we prefer to use force, these people will in future refuse more spitefully than ever to accept our wares.

The anthropological problem which lies at the root of the whole course of the world's history has not been solved. The White Race was stronger than the Red and the Black, and no one can say that it is stronger than the Yellow Race. It tries, prompted by the instinct of every species and every race, to obtain the exclusive rule over the globe. It must, however, accustom itself to the idea that the Yellow Race is its equal, that it will never be able to drive it aside, that it must share with it the mastery of the world, and that it will never add East Asia to its possessions. It is possible that Russia will succeed in establishing a kind of moral protectorate over China, and thereby acquire political and economic advantages. But this will be no victory of the White over the Yellow Race, for the Russians are a mixed people, whose Mongolian woof must not be left out of account. One can see in the tremendous preponderance which Russia has attained in the last century, not only in Asia but also in Europe, a victory of the Yellow Race over the White, and the beginning of the subjection of Europe by Asia.

The economic embarrassments of the White people cannot be cured in a zoological way; that is, by crushing the Yellow Race. They demand internal efforts on the part of the White Race; a more rational organization of society, and of the methods for the production and distribution of their industrial efforts.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO

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THERE is no larger or graver problem before civilized men at this moment than the prompt formation of a sound public opinion about the right treatment of backward races; and Hampton possesses the key-words of that great problem—education and productive labor. The support of Hampton Institute depends directly on public opinion concerning it among intelligent and public-spirited people North and South. Let these people remain convinced that Hampton not only has been, but is and will be, an effective instrument for uplifting the two backward races it serves, and let this conviction be as firmly and broadly planted in the Southern mind as in the Northern, and the vigorous life of the Institute is assured. I therefore ask your attention to some of the resemblances and some of the differences between opinion at the North and opinion at the South concerning the Negro.

In the first place, Northern opinion and Southern opinion are identical with regard to keeping the two races pure—that is, without admixture of one with the other. The Northern whites hold this opinion quite as firmly as the Southern whites; and, inasmuch as the Negroes hold the same view, this supposed danger of mutual racial impairment ought not to have much influence on practical measures. Admixture of the two races, so far as it proceeds, will be, as it has been, chiefly the result of sexual vice on the part of white men; it will not be a widespread evil; and it will not be advocated as a policy or method by anybody worthy of consideration. It should be borne in on the mind of the Southern whites that their Northern brethren are entirely at one with them in this matter, in spite of certain obvious differences of behavior toward the Negro at the North and at the South.

Let us next consider some of these differences of practical behavior. At the North, it is common for Negro children to go to the public schools with white children; while at the South, Negro children are not admitted to white schools. This practice at the North may be justly described as socially insignificant; because the number of Negro children is in most places very small in proportion to the number of white children. In Northern towns where Negro children are proportionately numerous, there is just the same tendency and desire to separate them from the whites that there is in the South. This separation may be effected by public regulations; but if not, it will be effected by white parents procuring the transfer of their chil-

dren to schools where Negroes are few. The differences of practice in this matter at the North and at the South are the result of the different proportion of Negroes to the white population in the two sections. Thus, in the high schools and colleges of the North, the proportion of Negroes is always extremely small, so small that it may be neglected as a social influence. Put the prosperous Northern whites into the Southern States, in immediate contact with millions of Negroes, and they would promptly establish separate schools for the colored population, whatever the necessary cost. Transfer the Southern whites to the North, where the Negroes form but an insignificant fraction of the population, and in a generation or two they would not care whether there were a few Negro children in the public schools or not, and would therefore avoid the expense of providing separate schools for the few colored children.

With regard to coming into personal contact with Negroes, the adverse feeling of the Northern whites is stronger than that of the Southern whites, who are accustomed to such contacts; but, on account of the fewness of the Negroes at the North, no separate provision is made for them in public conveyances and other places of public resort. It would be inconvenient and wasteful to provide separate conveyances; and, moreover, race is not the real determining consideration in regard to agreeableness of contact in a public conveyance or other public resort. Any clean and tidy person, of whatever race, is more welcome than any dirty person, be he white, black, or yellow. Here, again, the proportion of the Negro to the white population is a dominant consideration. On the whole, there is no essential difference between the feelings of the Northern whites and the Southern whites on this subject; but the uneducated Northern whites are less tolerant of the Negro than the Southern whites. More trades and occupations are actually open to Negroes in the Southern States than in the Northern.

I come next to a real difference between Northern opinion and Southern opinion—a difference the roots of which are rather hard to trace. At the North, nobody connects political equality—that is, the possession of the ballot and eligibility to public office—with social equality—that is, free social intercourse on equal terms in the people's homes. At the South, the white population seems to think unanimously that there is a close connection between the two questions following—shall a Negro vote or be a letter-carrier? And shall he sit with a white man at dinner or marry a white man's sister? At the North, these two questions seem to have nothing whatever to do with each other. For generations the entire male population of suitable age has possessed the ballot; but the possession of the ballot has never had anything to do with the social status of the individual voter. In the Northern cities, which generally contain a great variety of white nationalities, the social divi-

sions are numerous and deep; and the mere practice of political equality gives no means whatever of passing from one social set to another supposed to be higher. The social sets are determined by like education, parity of income, and similarity of occupation, and not at all by the equality of every citizen before the law. Many an old New England village, and many a huge tenement house in a great city at the North, illustrate the sharpness and fixity of social distinctions much more strongly than the newest fashionable quarter. The male villagers call each other John and Bill when they meet on the road or at town-meeting; but their families hold themselves apart. In the tenement house families will live for years on the same staircase, and yet never exchange so much as a nod. In democratic society, it is only birds of a feather that flock together; and true social mobility in a democracy is not preserved by the ballot, or by any theory of the equality of all men before the law, but by public education and by the precious freedom which enables the men and women who possess remarkable natural gifts of any sort to develop and utilize those gifts. This democratic mobility is an application of the general principle that human beings of the same sort, possessing the same desires, and governed by the same motives, will seek each other out, and associate in the pursuit of common objects, whether at work or at play. At the North, then, people do not in the least connect political equality with social equality or intercourse. In this respect, the Northern people closely resemble the English and the nations of continental Europe that have introduced the ballot into their political structures. No European has ever associated the possession of the ballot with social equality. An Englishman would find such an idea utterly unintelligible. During the nineteenth century there have been successive extensions of the suffrage in England; but these extensions have not affected in the least the social classification of the English people. To the Northern mind there is something positively comical in the notion that a letter-carrier, or a fourth-class postmaster, or an alderman, changes his social status or his social prospects when he attains to his office. At the North, this man remains in the social position to which his education, business training, and social faculties entitle him. His fellow-citizens may form a new opinion about him from the way he does his work, and from his bearing and manners; but if his social status is altered in any way, it will be because his personal qualities give him a lift or a drop, and not because he holds an office by election or appointment. At the South, on the other hand, the possession of the ballot before the Civil War distinguished the poor white from the black slave; and to hold public office was a highly valued mark of distinction among whites. Hence, the Southern whites are now convinced that possession of the ballot and eligibility to public office, however humble, tend towards social equality between two races

which ought not to be mixed; while nothing in the long experience of freedom among the Northern whites has ever suggested to them that there is any connection between social intercourse and political equality. The Southern white sees a race danger in eating at the same table with a Negro; he sees in being either the host or the guest of a Negro an act of race infidelity. The Northern white sees nothing of the kind. The race danger does not enter into his thoughts at all; he does not believe there is any such danger. To be the host or guest of a Negro, a Mexican, or a Japanese, would be for him simply a matter of present pleasure, convenience, or courtesy. It would never occur to him that such an act could possibly harm his own race. His pride of race does not permit him to entertain such an idea. This is a significant difference between Northern whites and Southern whites. Their sentiments on this subject are really unlike—so unlike that they do not understand each other. Yet their fundamental belief that the two races ought to live socially apart is precisely the same. The Southern sentiment on this subject ought to be provisionally respected as a social fact; although the Northern white's race feeling seems to be really much more robust than that of the Southern white's. The Northerner's is simply impregnable, like the self-respect of a gentleman. If the Southerner, when in the North, could conform to Northern practice, and the Northerner, when in the South, to Southern practice, each without losing caste at home, an amiable *modus vivendi* would be secured.

Again, the Northern whites and the Southern do not entirely agree with regard to public education. Northern opinion is unanimous in favor of giving the whole Southern population, white and black alike, good opportunities for education in every grade, though in separate establishments. It seems to the Northern whites that, if the Southern Negroes are to constitute a separate community, separate, that is, with regard to church, school and all social life, that separate community will need not only industrious laborers and operatives, active clerks, and good mechanics, but also teachers, preachers, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and, indeed, professional men of all sorts; and therefore that all grades of education should be made accessible to Negro children and youth. On this subject three different opinions may be discerned among Southern whites. Some Southern whites, educated and uneducated, think that any education is an injury to the Negro race, and that the Negro should continue to multiply in the Southern States with access only to the lowest forms of labor, for which, they maintain, as Plato did, that no education is necessary. Another section of the Southern whites holds that Negro children should be educated, but only for manual occupations; that is, for farm work, household work, and work in the fundamental trades, such as the carpenter's, mason's, and blacksmith's. This section ap-

proves of manual training and trade schools, but takes no interest in the higher education of the Negro. Still a third section of the Southern whites recognizes the obvious fact that a separate Negro community must be provided with Negro professional men of good quality, else neither the physical nor the moral welfare of the Negro population will be thoroughly provided for. At the North, the higher education of the few young Negroes who will reach that grade can be provided in the colleges and professional schools maintained for white youth, and is successfully given at this moment to a few Negro youth. In the Southern States, the higher education must be given in separate institutions, if at all.

The Northern people hardly realize how heavy the educational burden on the Southern States really is; because, at the North, they are under no necessity of providing separate institutions of all grades for the Negroes in addition to those provided for the whites. The pecuniary burden of this separate provision on the relatively poor Southern States is enormous; it is heavy in the elementary schools, but in the higher grades of education it is heavier still in proportion to the numbers to be educated. The provision of a higher education for Negroes is the logical consequence of the proposition that the white and black races should both be kept pure; and as I have said, this proposition is accepted both at the North and at the South. The alternative view that the Negro needs no education, or is harmed by it, or that the race should only be offered the lower grades of education, is thoroughly inconsistent with the proposition that the two races should be kept unmixed. Democratic society cannot possibly contemplate the permanent presence of millions of a race but recently delivered from slavery, breeding fast, and left in ignorance, or even without guidance and incentives to intellectual and spiritual life. Such a suggestion flies in the face of all democratic thought about public justice, liberty, and even safety.

The Northern whites have precisely the same dread of an ignorant and corruptible suffrage that the Southern whites feel; for they have suffered and are now suffering from it. Millions of immigrants, who have had no practice in civil or religious liberty, have invaded the North; and Negro suffrage there has often proved not only unintelligent, but mercenary. Their remedy, however, for an ignorant suffrage is to abolish ignorance by patient, generous work on the children. As an aid in this long campaign they value an educational qualification for the suffrage. Moreover, the Northern people are having at home abundant illustration of the way crimes increase when portions of the population have emancipated themselves from accustomed restraints, but have not yet been provided with any new effective restraints either from within or from without. In this respect they are prepared to sympathize warmly with their Southern brethren, whose situation

is even more difficult than their own. Both parts of the country are feeling acutely the same need—the need of a stronger arm for the law, of a permanent, large, and pervasive police force, organized in military fashion, and provided with all the best means for instantaneous communication between stations. The presence of a competent public force would tend to prevent those sudden gregarious panics which cause lawless barbarities.

In respect to the value of that peculiar form of education which Hampton Institute has so admirably illustrated—education through manual training and labor at trades and crafts—there is a striking agreement between Northern and Southern opinion. One of the most remarkable changes in public education in the Northern States during the past fifteen years has been the rapid introduction of just these features into urban school systems.

The Northern whites are beginning to sympathize strongly with their Southern brethren in respect to the peculiar burden which the action of the National Government in liberating the Negroes has imposed on them. They see that the educational problem at the South is much more difficult than it is at the North, and calls for much greater public expenditures. They also perceive that the Southern States are less able than the Northern States to make large public expenditures for education. In spite of their ingrained preference for local government in general—a preference which has preserved far too long ward government for schools in cities and district government in country towns—they are beginning to feel that the peculiar burden on the Southern States, caused by the separation between the black and the white races in the institutions of education, should be borne in part by the National Government. They would like to see devised constitutional means of bringing exceptional aid from the national treasury to the former States which have this exceptional burden to bear. They would like to see the Negro schools of the South kept eight months of the year instead of four, at the expense of the nation. They would like to see separate Negro colleges for agriculture and the mechanic arts provided throughout the South by the National Government. They would like to see the Southern universities enabled to maintain separate professional schools for colored men. They would like to see a way found for the National Government to spend as much money on solving the Southern Negro problem as it has been spending for six years past on the Philippine problem. In short, they would like to see the National Government recognize its responsibility for many of the physical and moral difficulties which beset civilization in the Southern States, and come to the aid of all the civilizing forces in those States. They know that efficient help could only be given through existing local agencies; and the only help they would wish the Government to give is help to meet the peculiar burdens those agencies now have to bear because

of the expedient social separation between the two races which are to occupy together the fair Southern country. It was in the supreme interest of the whole nation that the Southern States were impoverished forty years ago by a four years' blockade and the destruction of their whole industrial system. It is fair that the nation should help to rebuild Southern prosperity in the very best way, namely, through education.

Finally, let us all remember that the task of making competent freemen out of slaves is not the work of a day or a decade, but of many generations. How many Anglo-Saxon generations have gone to dust on the long road from serfdom to freedom! It is a task to be worked at by each successive generation, with the eager energy of men who know that for them the night cometh in which no man can work, but with a patience like that of God who lives and rules forever.

THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA

SIR ARCHIBALD GEIKIE

LONDON

AMONG the capitals of Europe Rome has long had the unique distinction of standing in the midst of a wide solitude. Other cities in their outward growth have incorporated village after village and hamlet after hamlet. As their streets and squares merge insensibly into a succession of villas and gardens, cottages and hedgerows, followed by the farms and fields of the open country, so the noise and stir of causeway and pavement gradually give way to the quieter sounds of rural life. But with the Eternal City this normal arrangement does not hold good. For sixteen centuries she has kept herself within her ancient walls which still surround her with their picturesque continuity of rampart and tower. Inside these barriers we still encounter, by day and by night, the "fumum et opes, strepitumque Romæ." But outside the gates we find ourselves on a lonely prairie that sweeps in endless grassy, and almost treeless, undulations up to the base of the distant hills. The main roads, indeed, that radiate from the city, are bordered on either side, for the first mile or two, with a strip of suburban *osterie*, booths and shops, varied here and there, perhaps, by a villa and its grounds. But these fringes of habitation are too narrow and short, and cling too closely to their respective arteries of traffic, seriously to affect the solitariness which broods over the intervening landscape to the very foot of the walls.

This surrounding district, known as the Roman Campagna, possesses a singular fascination, which has been often and enthusiastically described. The endless and exquisite variety of form and color presented by the plain and its boundary of distant mountains, together with the changing effects of weather and season on such a groundwork, would of themselves furnish ample subjects for admiration. But the influence of this natural beauty is vastly enhanced by the strange and solemn loneliness of a scene which living man seems to have almost utterly forsaken, leaving behind him only memories of a storied past which are awakened at every turn by roofless walls of long-abandoned farm-buildings, mouldering ruins of mediæval towers, fragments of imperial aqueducts, decayed substructures of ancient villas and the grass-grown sites of ancient cities whose names are forever linked with the early struggles of Rome. European travel offers few more instructive experiences than may be gained by wandering at will over that rolling sward, carpeted with spring-flowers, but silent save for the song of the larks overhead and the rustle of the breeze among the weeds below; when the mountainous wall of the Sabine chain from Soracte 'round to the Alban Hills

gleams under the soft Italian sky with the iridescence of an opal, and when the imagination, attuned to the human association of the landscape, recalls with eager interest, some of the incidents in the marvellous succession of historical events that have been transacted here. If, besides being keenly alive to all the ordinary sources of attraction, the visitor can look below the surface, he may gain a vast increase to his interest in the ground by finding there intelligible memorials of prehistoric scenes, and learning from them by what slow steps the platform was framed on which Rome rose and flourished and fell. He will thus discover that, as befitted the city which was to rule the world, its birthplace was fashioned by the co-operation of the grandest forces in Nature; that, on the one hand, subterranean upheaval and stupendous volcanic activity combined to build up the plain and hills of the Campagna, and that on the other, the universal and ceaseless working of the subaërial agencies has carved it into that varied topography which is typified in the isolation of the Seven Hills of Rome and of the many crags and ridges that served as sites for the towns of Latium and Etruria.

Seen from the crest of the Vatican ridge, the Roman Campagna stretches as a plain from the base of the steep front of the Apennines to the coast of the Mediterranean—a distance of some thirty English miles. To the north it is bounded by the ridge of Soracte and the nearer heights of Bracciano and Tolfa. To the south it runs up to the base of the Alban Hills and sweeps between them and the sea onwards till it merges into the flat and pestilential Maremma. Even from such a commanding point of view, however, this apparent plain can be seen to be far from having an even surface. Not only does it slope upward and inland from the coast until, where it abuts against the foot of the hills, it has reached heights of 600 or 800 feet, but when looked at more closely it presents a somewhat diversified topography. Though the heights and hollows never vary much from the general average level, they include not only smooth, grassy ridges but also low cliffs that run along the declivities, rising sometimes into craggy scarps; likewise narrow gullies and ravines with steep walls, as well as wide, open, smooth-sided valleys. The surface is for the most part clothed with pasture; yet the brown and yellow rock that forms most of the plain protrudes in many places, not only where it has been laid bare by natural causes, but where it has been artificially cut away or scooped into subterranean recesses.

Such a varied form of ground was eminently favorable for human settlement. The earliest races could find or make rock-shelters almost anywhere. The fertility of the soil afforded to their successors good pasturage and fields for tillage, while the hillocks, girt round with cliffs, and the flat-topped ridges, shelving precipitously to lower ground, offered excellent sites for fortification and defence. Owing to the porous nature of the ground,

much of the rain sinks at once beneath the surface, instead of flowing off in brooks. Hence many of the valleys are usually dry, unless in wet seasons. But water can be obtained all over the district by sinking wells, and that this source of supply has been in use from a remote period and to an almost incredible extent, has been strikingly shown by the recent excavations beneath the pavements of the Roman Forum. It would be difficult to find anywhere a form of ground which shows better the influence of geological structure upon the early fortunes of a people.

With some portion of what has been written by Italian and other observers on this district, I have made myself acquainted, and having had the advantage of tracing on the ground the records of the successive stages through which the Campagna has come to be what it is, I propose in the following pages to give an outline of this prehistoric chronicle. I should like to attempt to present to the reader such a picture of the whole sequence of events as has vividly impressed itself on my own mind, avoiding, as far as may be practicable, technicalities and details. Three distinct successive phases can be recognized in this sequence. First came a time when the waves of the Mediterranean broke against the base of the steep front of the Apennines, and when all the low grounds around Rome, and for leagues to the north and south, lay sunk many fathoms deep. Next followed the chief period in the building up of the Campagna. A host of volcanoes rose along the sea-floor on the west side of Central Italy, when ashes, dust and stones were thrown out in such quantity and for so prolonged a time as to strew over the sea-bottom a mass of material several hundred feet thick. Partly from this accumulation and partly by an upheaval of the whole region of Italy, the sea-bottom with its volcanic cones was raised up as a strip of low land bordering the high grounds of the interior, and huge volcanoes were piled up to a height of several thousand feet. Lastly succeeded the epoch in which the volcanic platform, no longer increased by fresh eruptions, was carved by the atmospheric agencies into the topography which it presents to-day. Each of these three phases has had its history legibly graven in the rocky framework of the Campagna, and some of its memorials may be recognized even within the walls of Rome.

I. The records of the first period lie beneath the Seven Hills on the left bank of the Tiber, but rise high above the plain on the right bank, where they form the chain of heights that culminates in Monte Mario, 455 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. These records, forming the series known to geologists by the name of Pliocene, consist of a lower bluish-grey clay and an upper group of yellow sands and gravels, the whole being probably a good deal more than 450 feet thick. The clay (Plaisancian) has been found to extend, with a remarkable persistence of aspect and con-

tents, from the north to the south of Italy. It has yielded several hundred species of mollusks and other organisms which show it to be a thoroughly marine silt, deposited on the bottom of a sea of some little depth.

At the time of the deposition of this clay the mountainous backbone of the country had already undergone the greater part of that prolonged series of terrestrial disturbances whereby solid sheets of limestone were folded, crushed, ruptured and driven together into a series of parallel ridges, having a general trend from northwest to southeast, and forming the nucleus of what is now the chain of the Apennines. At the epoch when our story begins, however, this chain was still incomplete, and probably a good deal lower, as well as narrower, than subsequent upheaval has made it. Instead of forming, as it now does, the lofty axis of a broad peninsula, it then consisted of a series of parallel islands and islets, separated from each other by long and often narrow sounds or channels. In general appearance it must have resembled parts of the coast of Dalmatia on the opposite side of the Adriatic. Many of the more prominent mountains of the region stood then entirely surrounded by the sea. The Sabine Hills, for example, rose as an island, while Soracte formed another island farther west. A long strait ran northwards by Rocca Sinibalda and Rieti to Terni; another of narrower width stretched towards Perugia and formed then the estuary of the Tiber. All the Roman Campagna, together with the low grounds on both sides of the Apennines, was at that time submerged under the sea. The great band of volcanic heights and cones that extends from Aquapendente to the Bay of Naples had not yet come into existence, but over their site the waters of the Mediterranean lay many fathoms deep.

The climate of Europe had for ages been of so genial a character that sub-tropical types of life had long flourished both in the sea and on the land of this quarter of the globe. But in the period of geological history with which we are now concerned, a remarkable diminution of temperature was in progress all over the Northern hemisphere. As the warmth grew less, the distribution of plants and animals came to be seriously affected. Many southern forms were extirpated from districts which they had long inhabited, while in their place came migrations of northern species. This modification made itself felt both on sea and land. Thus in the Atlantic Ocean a number of northern shells, which had pushed their way southward even as far as the coasts of the Spanish peninsula, were able to enter the Mediterranean when a connection was opened between that inland sea and the main ocean outside. It is interesting to note that among the shells introduced into the Mediterranean basin at this time were *Astarte borealis*, *Buccinum groenlandicum*, *Cyprina islandica*, *Panopaea norvegica* and others whose appellations sufficiently indicate the latitudes where they now find

their chief home. On the land, too, such quadrupeds as the reindeer and the now extinct mammoth wandered from the plains of Lapland and Russia to the shores of Italy. Eventually when the refrigeration gave way to the return of more genial conditions, the northern invaders died out. They have no living descendants now in the south of Europe.

The grey clay which forms the lower division of the Roman Pliocene series is best seen on the right side of the Tiber where it forms the lower half of the ridge of the Vatican and Monte Mario, and where for more than five-and-twenty centuries it has supplied material for making the bricks of which ancient and modern Rome has been so largely constructed. The same clay has been found at lower levels on the opposite side of the river. On the flanks of the Pincian Hill, at the Piazza di Spagna, it was exposed about twelve years ago in some excavations connected with the adjustment of the aqueduct of the Aqua Vergine. Only a few feet below the crowded pavements of that busy thoroughfare lies the old sea-bottom with its abundant relics of marine life. In borings for water which have been made around Rome the same deposit has been ascertained to extend below the later volcanic formations of the Campagna. Thus at the Appia Antica fort, near the tomb of Cecilia Metella, the clay was entered at a depth of about 300 feet from the surface or eighty feet below the level of the sea. As the upper limit of the clay at Monte Mario lies about 200 feet above sea-level and the distance from that outcrop to the fort in question is about six miles, it might be inferred that there is here evidence of a southeasterly dip of the deposit amounting to forty-six feet in a mile. But before any inference of this kind can be accepted, some considerations should be taken into account, of the highest interest and importance in relation to the early history both of the Campagna and of the Apennine chain.

Before dealing with these questions, however, let us complete the examination of the marine deposits of Monte Mario. In the valuable section disclosed on the slopes of that hill, the grey clay is seen to become sandy towards the top and to include seams of sand which rapidly increase in thickness, until, with their included layers of gravel, they form nearly the whole of the upper part of the ridge. These yellow sands, generally distinguished by the name of "Astian," have been traced, like the clay below them, along nearly the whole length of the Italian peninsula. The striking contrast which, in the nature of their material, they present to the clay, plainly points to a great alteration of the geography of the coasts at the time when they were deposited. The sea must have become rapidly shallower. Not improbably one of the uplifts now took place, whereby the land has been raised at intervals to its present height. The steepness of the descent of the mountains into the sea might not lead at once to much gain of land along

the western coast; but instead of the grey mud that had previously accumulated in the deeper water, coarser sediment, brought down by numerous torrents from the hills, now spread out over the sea-bottom. Such a transition from the finest silt to gravel and sand could not fail to affect the distribution of the animals living along the coast-line. Accordingly, on comparing the fossils in the sands with those of the clay, we see that while some of the shells, especially the larger and more massive kinds, continued to flourish in abundance; others, which found their most congenial haunts in tranquil waters, were driven further out to sea.

As the Pliocene deposits so well displayed at Rome are known to preserve throughout Italy the same twofold character, with the same types of sediment and of organic remains, the observer who tries to follow their development in the Campagna is soon puzzled by the way in which they there suddenly disappear and allow their place to be taken by later deposits of volcanic origin, which are known by the general designation of Tuff. The most astonishing example of this local peculiarity is to be found at the Monte Verde, south of the Janiculan ridge. The clays and sands which rise in horizontal layers almost to the top of Monte Mario are there entirely cut out, and the tuff, which lies as a mere thin capping on the crest of that hill, suddenly descends across the truncated edges of the Pliocene strata to the alluvial plain of the Tiber. On the opposite side of the river, the upper sands have been almost entirely removed and the tuff is found lying almost immediately on the lower clay. It is clear that there must have been an extensive, though no doubt local, erosion of these marine strata, before the main body of the tuff was laid down. By what agency this erosion was effected is not quite clear. Not improbably a gap occurs here in the record, representing an interval of considerable duration of which no chronicle has survived.

Passing over this hiatus, we still encounter marine deposits, but these are of volcanic origin, and leave us meanwhile to speculate in the dark as to whether the denudation was the work of the sea or of terrestrial waters. Owing to the thick covering of tuff which has overspread the Campagna and concealed all that lies below, it has become difficult to obtain adequate data for the discussion of this question, which is of considerable interest in the history of the Campagna. The most reliable evidence would be supplied by a series of borings across the district in different directions. Such a series may perhaps hereafter be undertaken for the purpose of obtaining water for the farms and homesteads, which sanguine patriots foresee taking in the future the place of the present solitude, and in that event, the geologists of Rome will no doubt be on the watch for all the information that

can be gathered from this source as to the nature of the rocks underneath, and their relations to each other.

In the meantime, much might be done in this attractive department of local geology by a far more detailed study than has yet been attempted of the surroundings of the Campagna. In particular the recognizable stratigraphical horizons among the Pliocene strata should be definitely traced and mapped in detail, where they emerge from under the volcanic tuff. It would then be possible to measure the amount of erosion in various places, and to determine how far the spread of the volcanic sheet across older formations is due to actual unconformability and how far to simple overlap. At the same time, the precise height could be ascertained of the upper limit of the Pliocene deposits, and data would probably be obtained for determining not only the minimum amount of the uplift of the land since the Pliocene period, but also how far and in what directions there may have been any warping of the peninsula in the course of the elevation. We know from the observations of De Angelis that the Plaisancian clays, which at Monte Mario do not rise more than 200 feet above the surface of the Mediterranean, reach a height of as much as 1050 metres (3445 feet) in the upper part of the valley of the Arno, near Subiaco, only about thirty miles east from Rome, or an upheaval of as much as 108 feet in a mile. It remains still to discover how far this amount may fall short of the total extent of the post-Pliocene uplift of the Apennine chain.

Not improbably the deep and extensive erosion of the Pliocene formations before the deposition of the volcanic tuffs, and their elevation above sea-level were related phenomena, connected with the outbreak of the remarkable volcanic episode in the geological history of Central Italy, which has so profoundly modified the scenery of the country. In the yellow sands and gravels of Monte Mario no trace of volcanic detritus has been detected. Their sediments, containing pebbles of Rhaetic, Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks can hardly have come from any other source than the Apennine chain. But before their deposition had quite come to an end the Volcanic period was ushered in which forms the second stage of the history of the region.

II. We have now to deal with the records of one of the most interesting phases in the evolution of the framework of Italy—the period that witnessed the birth, development and extinction of a series of volcanoes which, starting on the sea-bottom in front of the western coast, gradually built up a tract of plains and hills in some places thirty to forty miles broad and altogether perhaps as much as 200 miles long, crowned with majestic cones several thousand feet high. The chronicles of this episode being tolerably complete in the Roman Campagna, they enable us to follow the course of events with great clearness from the beginning to the end.

Nowhere in the district around Rome have the earliest indications of the oncoming of this volcanic period, the first mutterings, as it were, of the subterranean convulsions, been more instructively preserved than in the line of quarries that have been opened along the edge of the alluvial plain of the Tiber at the Torretta di Quinto, near the Ponte Molle, about two miles north from the city. The section of strata there exposed, which has long been known and often described, is at present undergoing rapid changes from the extensive excavations required to procure materials for the embankment of the river in its course through Rome. Nowhere, too, is the geologist more seductively wooed from the pursuit of his researches by the fascination of crowded historic associations. From the slopes above the quarries, he sees the Tiber catching the shadows of the Pons Milvius, where Maxentius met his doom. Below him rise the roofs of the *Osterie*, which on feast days repeat the noise and merriment that made the place notorious in the days of the Empire. Opposite him, a green hill marks the long-deserted site of Antemnæ, beneath which the Tiber winds as a silver band through its meadows far up past other old towns that have long since mouldered into dust. Looking across the green and purple expanse of the Campagna, dotted with its ruined towers, he sees the whole sweep of the blue rampart of the Sabine Hills—almost the only feature of the landscape that has remained the same. If from these memories of the past he turns to the long line of quarries, he is perchance rudely awakened to the strenuous present by gangs of workmen, digging, blasting, wheeling; by the rattle of laden wagons, and by an occasional explosion of gunpowder or dynamite. Passing through this busy scene, he soon perceives that the ancient bank against which the Tiber chafed when it was spreading out its high alluvial plain, has been quarried backward, and as the ground slopes upward from the plain, the cliff thus artificially cut open must be continually changing its face and becoming higher. At present there has been laid open an excellent section of strata forming part of the upper or sandy group of Monte Mario. These succeed each other in horizontal bands so diverse in form and color as to give the cliff a markedly banded aspect.

At the southern end of this section some layers of coarse gravel may be seen cemented into a solid calcareous conglomerate full of large and well-preserved marine shells. A little further over comes a band of travertine—a compact variety of limestone which is one of the characteristic and economically important stones of the Campagna, for where of good quality, it makes an admirable firm cream-colored building-stone, and has been largely used from the early times of Roman history. To its durability the preservation of so many noble monuments of Republican and Imperial architecture is due. I may remark in passing that this material can now be

seen in actual course of deposition from solution in the neighborhood of Rome. The cold waters of the Anio have formed thick masses of it at the Tivoli Falls, and the warm springs of Bagni deposit it on the plain below. At the latter place its accumulation must have been going on for a vast period of time, seeing that it now covers a tract of low ground to the north of the Anio, measuring about six miles from east to west and four miles from north to south. Here the quarries of ancient Rome were opened, and the modern city still draws its supplies from the same area. A smaller tract of similar stone has been worked for building material at Cisterna di Roma, about twenty-eight miles to the southeast of the city. A thin band of travertine, possibly a continuation of that at the Torretta di Quinto, forms a conspicuous cliff along the east side of the Via Flaminia, between Ponte Molle and the Porto del Popolo, and other detached masses of it make their appearance at various places further south.

These various outcrops of travertine, as I shall have occasion to show, have had an important influence in the excavation of the valley of the Tiber and the isolation of the hills of Rome. The material was probably deposited chiefly by hot springs containing abundant carbonate of lime in solution, and may be regarded as an accompaniment or sequel of volcanic activity. In most cases, thermal mineral springs depositing travertine make their appearance in the latter phases of a volcanic period, and often continue long after every other manifestation of subterranean heat has died out. But at the Torretta di Quinto the sheet of travertine is found among the records of the beginning of the volcanic history. Another exceptional feature in this sheet is the proof that it was laid down on the floor of the sea, for it encloses the remains of some of the shells that lived at the time in that sea.

More direct and obvious proof of the breaking-out of volcanic eruptions is to be found in the strata that lie above the travertine. In some of these may be detected truly volcanic minerals such as felspar, augite and black mica, derived from the explosion of lava within eruptive vents and the falling of the volcanic dust upon the silt and shells of the sea-bottom. Higher up more pronounced evidence of successive eruptions is furnished by abundant lapilli and scoriæ of black slaggy lava, and by bands of true tuff, composed almost or entirely of volcanic detritus.

This section at the Torretta di Quinto is of great interest as indicating that the volcanoes of the Campagna began their career under the sea. Similar evidence obtained at other places makes it probable that the whole chain of volcanoes in central and southern Italy from those of Bolsena on the north to those of Naples and Sicily on the south started their eruptions on the sea-floor. When the activity of this chain was at its height a band of eruptive vents flanked the western coast from the neighborhood of Aqua-

pendente and Oviato to perhaps as far as the Bay of Salerno. At first the cones formed round these vents were probably submerged, and were no doubt more or less washed down and leveled by the agitation of the sea, but as they were renewed by successive discharges, the larger examples among them may have risen above water and scattered their dust and stones into the air. These volcanic islets would then front the mainland of Italy, much as the Aeolian islands now flank the northern coast of Sicily. Etna, Lipari, Volcano, Stromboli and the other islets may be regarded as the last lineal descendants of the insular volcanoes to whose operations the scenery of Central and Southern Italy is so largely indebted.

The solid substances ejected by these volcanoes in the earlier stages of their history consisted mainly of fragmentary material—dust, sand, stones, scorixæ, and the other forms in which molten lava is blown out of volcanic vents by the explosion of its absorbed vapors and gases. Sometimes pieces of limestone or other rock, which were torn away from the older formations underneath, are found dispersed through the volcanic detritus. This fragmentary material, now more or less compacted into the form of Tuff, extends throughout the length and breadth of the volcanic tract and must thus cover some thousands of square miles. In the Campagna, which lies upon it and derives thence its distinctive features, it reaches a thickness of 300 feet or more, while inland it overlaps the Pliocene deposits in detached outliers which run far up the Apennine Valleys, reaching heights of 1200 feet and upward. Compared with the Pliocene strata that lie below it, the tuff presents some characteristic differences which at once arrest attention. It lacks the rapid alternation and variety of parallel layers so marked in the Astian sands. Yet it can generally be seen to possess a stratified arrangement. Here and there, indeed, this structure gives place to a tumultuous accumulation of coarse detritus, huddled together as it fell, large and small lumps of lava being confusedly mingled in the general matrix and forming the rock known to geologists as Agglomerate. Such intercalations probably indicate proximity to centres of eruption and in some cases may even mark the position of the vents themselves. Alternations in the character of the successive beds of tuff may be regarded as evidence of variations in the energy and distribution of the active orifices. It may be added that the tuff supplied the Romans with various admirable building materials. In the days of the Kings and of the Republic, its more compact kinds were quarried in large quadrangular blocks for the construction of massive walls, while in later times some of its more incoherent varieties were discovered to be capable of forming the most durable concrete, which in the hands of Roman architects was employed with a boldness and skill that have never since been equalled.

That the materials of the tuff were assorted under water is suggested by their stratified structure. This inference is strengthened by the intercalation among them of sheets of sand, gravel, clay and marl. The layers of gravel are especially important, for their component pebbles of limestone and other non-volcanic stones are unmistakably fragments of Mesozoic rocks, which have been rolled along by running water from their original resting places among the Apennines so as to acquire smoothed and rounded forms. But though the tuff was accumulated under water, it presents a strong contrast to the clays and sands below it by its generally unfossiliferous character. Leaves, branches and stems of ilex, oak and other land-vegetation have been obtained from it at various places, sometimes as mere hollow moulds or in carbonized forms, but occasionally with the internal structure still preserved. Less frequently it has yielded the bones, antlers or tusks of terrestrial quadrupeds. But both the plants and animals have obviously been drifted from the land, and did not live where their remains have been found. It is worthy of remark that though so many observers have been at work in successive generations among the rocks of the Campagna, no undoubted example of marine mollusk has been recorded from the tuff in the interior of the Campagna. The crowds of shells in the Pliocene strata underneath are there absent. That the conditions required for the existence of an abundant marine fauna continued over this site until the beginning of the volcanic period is manifest from the crowded pteropods, lamellibranchs and gasteropods of the clays and sands. But as the eruptions increased in area and in intensity these conditions were eventually destroyed. The descent of continued showers of hot dust, ashes and stones over the sea-bottom, the rise of mephitic gases from below, as well as of hot springs that deposited sheets of travertine, must have made that sea-floor no congenial home for either plant or animal.

It has often been assumed that the tuff of the Roman Campagna was derived from the eruptions of the Alban volcano on the one side, and of the Bracciano volcano on the other. A careful study of the tuff, however, and a comparison of it with that of more ancient volcanic districts, the structure of which has been more fully laid open by prolonged denudation, leads, in my opinion, to a conviction that this assumption is founded on inaccurate observation. The rapidly varying and lenticular character of the materials when followed along the cliffs where they are exposed, and their occasional agglomeratic character which increases and diminishes in various directions, with no reference to the two great volcanic centres on each border of the district, point not to showers of detritus from these centres, or from any other vents at a distance, but to local eruptions from many and generally small vents, discharging here fine, there coarse materials, at different times

and independent of each other. I have not myself been fortunate enough to detect a "neck," which would mark the site of one of these vents, nor so far as I am aware, has any example of this structure been recorded from the general body of the Campagna tuff. But this failure of proof, I am disposed to believe, is to be accounted for rather from the special kind of evidence required not having hitherto been recognized or searched for with sufficient experience, than because it does not exist.

One of the tasks which I think might hopefully be undertaken in regard to the geological history of this district is that of seeking for proofs of the distribution of some of the vents whence the tuff was ejected. Among the numerous crags along the hillsides, and in the abundant stream-courses of *fossi*, where the naked rock has been laid bare all over the Campagna, sections might be met with that would help to solve this problem. The numerous unquestionable "craters" of the Alban and Ciminian Hills belong to a much later stage of the volcanic period than that in which the main mass of tuff was formed. We must remember also, in considering this question, that the tuff, with its distinctive and persistent characters, stretches far beyond the limits within which the materials fell that were discharged from the Alban or Bracciano volcanoes, even when these were at the height of their vigor. It can be followed in numerous detached tracts of valley-floor through the hills eastwards to Sora, and southwards to near Gaeta. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the type of small submarine vents extended all through the volcanic tract from its northern to its southern limit.

A little reflection will show that the sites of these vents may be expected to be difficult of detection. In the first place, though numerous, their small size may easily make them escape notice, even where they may have been wholly or partially laid bare by denudation. Probably a close parallel to their original forms and to the way in which they were in some places crowded together is to be found in the Phlegræan Fields near Naples—a district which well deserves the careful scrutiny of any one who desires to follow the volcanic history of the Roman Campagna. Its cones are terrestrial, indeed, not submarine. Being much younger, they have been far better preserved than those of the submarine stage of the period. One of them, Monte Nuovo, though now as cold and silent as the oldest of them, was thrown up so recently as 1538. Another, that of the Solfatara, is still a steaming vent, while Vesuvius from time to time asserts its claim to rank in the list of active volcanoes. These Neapolitan cones probably convey a fair idea of the general distribution and aspect of those of the Campagna, especially in the later time when the volcanic platform had eventually been raised above the level of the Mediterranean. We see, as in the case of the

youngest and smallest of the three craters which have risen through each other to the north of Astroni, that some of the Neapolitan vents were only a few yards in diameter. And we learn also that at least one, and probably others of them, were the product of single eruptions, for Monte Nuovo, which is nearly 500 feet in height, was thrown up in the course of two days. Doubtless, these small and rapidly built monticules had many predecessors of like type on the Roman Campagna.

In the second place, the cones connected with the tuff of the district around Rome, being composed of loose fragmentary materials, would be easily washed down. No one can ramble over that area without being struck with the singular scarcity of solid lava among the endless exposures of tuff. It is true that around the great craters of the Alban and Ciminian Hills a good deal of lava can be seen to have been emitted. But these masses, like the volcanoes that gave vent to them, belong to that later stage of the volcanic history to which I have referred. Only to a trifling extent does the tuff of the Campagna appear to include contemporaneous sheets of lava. If, then, molten rock has hardly ever poured out at the surface, it may rarely have risen and consolidated in the upper parts of the throats of the volcanoes, so as to form there a hard core which would remain as a projecting knob when the surrounding loose ashes were leveled down by denudation.

In the third place, there can now be no doubt that the greater part of the sheet of tuff in the Roman Campagna was accumulated under the sea. This subject was for many years one on which various contradictory opinions were held. Some writers, from the general stratified structure, correctly maintained the marine origin of the tuff. Again, on the evidence of enclosed land-plants and animals, some observers have regarded it as a fresh-water deposit, while others have looked upon it as a terrestrial formation. It is true, as I shall point out a little farther on, that here and there, especially in its upper parts, the tuff includes intercalated bands of strata containing land and fresh-water shells as well as bones of terrestrial mammals, and indicating that the floor of the sea had been converted into low land with brackish lagoons and lakes of fresh water. But as regards the main mass of the tuff of the Campagna, the question of its marine origin may now be considered as definitely settled by the researches of Professor Portis, of the University of Rome. In specimens of different varieties of the rock from all parts of the district, and previously supposed to be entirely unfossiliferous, this careful observer has found that foraminifera are often abundant and well preserved. These organisms are unequivocally marine, swimming freely in the upper waters and sinking when dead to mingle with the silt or to form of themselves an ooze on the bottom. We can thus understand

how they might be borne along above a sea-floor where molluscan life was hardly possible.

If, then, cones of loose ashes and scoriæ were thrown up on the bottom of the sea, they would obviously be apt to be rapidly leveled by the agitation of currents and ground swell, while those which rose above the surface of the water, as Lipari, Volcano and Stromboli do now, would be subject also to continual erosion by rain and to unceasing attack along their shores by wind-waves. They would thus tend to be ultimately planed down, their materials being strewn over the surrounding sea-bottom, so as to add to the general accumulating sheet of tuff. The rapidity with which this kind of demolition may be completed was impressively exemplified in this very area of the Mediterranean by the history of Graham Island, which in the summer of 1831 was thrown up by a submarine eruption off the southwest of Sicily. In the course of less than a month, a cone of loose cinders, scoriæ and pumice was piled up to a height, it is said, of more than 200 feet above sea-level, with a circumference of three miles and a large crater inside. In about three months, this volcano was leveled with the surface of the sea.

As a consequence of the prolonged eruptions, the water along the west coast of Central Italy must have become increasingly shallow. This result may not improbably have been expedited by that uplift of the whole region to which reference has above been made. In course of time, not only would volcanic cones appear as islands above sea-level, but the action of winds, waves and tidal currents would throw up bars of *lidi*, like those of Venice or those of more ancient date which traverse the alluvial plain on either side of the mouth of the Tiber. Further deposition of sediment, either from the volcanoes or from the torrents of the Apennines, would lead to the silting up of the lagoons between these bars. The hollows on the newly gained land would eventually become fresh-water lakes, and the drainage from the mountains would find its way by numerous channels across the low plain into the sea. Thus, the Tiber, escaping from its narrow estuary among the hills not improbably continued its southwesterly course, so as to pass across what afterwards became the great volcanic district of Bolsena and to enter the sea somewhere between Civita Vecchia and Orbetello. The Anio would thus at that time be the main stream in the Roman Campagna.

From the layers of lacustrine or fluviatile deposits in the tuff and also from cavities and fissures in the limestone-hills, which then as now rose abruptly from the edge of the volcanic plain, an interesting series of organic remains has been obtained which throw a vivid light upon the plants and animals of the centre of Italy in the volcanic period. So far as yet discovered, the flora was on the whole similar to that which still survives in the

district. But the fauna was strangely different. If the remains have been correctly identified, the land animals of the time consisted of a curiously mixed assemblage, including, on the one hand, many forms which have long been extinct, together with some which still inhabit the surrounding region; and on the other hand, quadrupeds characteristic of southern Europe or Africa, as well as a few whose descendants are only found much farther north. The open glades were traversed by various species of deer, gazelle and wild ox, most of which are no longer living but which comprised the red deer and the reindeer. There were likewise herds of more than one kind of horse, whose bones have been found at some places in great numbers. The caverns and clefts in the hills were tenanted by lions and hyenas, lynxes and wild cats. The woods were haunted by brown bears, badgers, wolves and foxes. Strangest of all, the denizens of the region were the huge pachyderms—mastodons, elephants, and rhinoceroses, including that northern form, the mammoth. Beavers built their dams across the smaller streams, while the hippopotamus disported himself in the rivers, which were likewise tenanted by several species of aquatic tortoises. There is occasionally something strangely incongruous in the circumstances under which the remains of these primeval creatures are found in places that have long been known only from their association with the course of Roman history. One of the most singular examples of this contrast was seen in the recent unearthing of a well-preserved tusk of a hippopotamus a few inches underneath the pavement of the atrium of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum Romanum. There can be little doubt that the main part of this curiously varied fauna had established itself in Italy long before the volcanoes first began their eruptions and that many of its most singular and characteristic members continued to live on during the volcanic period, for their remains have been exhumed from some of the later deposits. A few like the otter, the mole, the hare and the fox have remained in this region down to the present day.

It was after the Campagna had become a land-surface, tenanted by this remarkable assemblage of animals, that the manifestations of volcanic energy reached their climax. Instead of finding outlets in many minor vents that discharged showers of ashes and stones, it now broke out in a few large craters from which not only copious discharges of fragmentary materials but also streams of lava were emitted. In the district around Rome this greater localization and more violent activity were specially concentrated in two areas separated from each other by an intervening plain about thirty-five miles broad. On the south side of this plain, the group of the Alban Hills was built up by many successive eruptions; on the north side, a chain of important vents stretched from Bracciano northwards to the great crater

of Bolsena. Of these two areas, the southern comes more closely into connection with Rome and the Campagna, and as it tells its story vividly and fully, it claims our more special attention.

The Alban Hills, so striking a feature in the scenery of the region and so indissolubly associated with the early chronicles of the Eternal City, consist essentially of one great volcanic cone of the type of Vesuvius, with a base about twelve miles in diameter. This cone is so deeply truncated that its summit, from one side of the rim to the other, measures about six miles. The highest point of the rim is 3071 feet above sea-level. Inside lies the huge cauldron-like depression that formed the original crater of the volcano, encircled with steep slopes and rocky walls save on the northwest side towards Rome, where the continuity of the crater-ring has been destroyed.

The abrupt truncation of this cone, the disappearance of the western portion of its rim, the great size of its crater compared with the total height of the mountain, and the existence of a later cone and crater inside, together with a number of craters outside, suggest that the energy of the volcano culminated in a gigantic explosion, whereby the upper half of the cone, perhaps twice as high then as it is now, was blown away, leaving inside a yawning chasm or caldera that opened towards the west, where the wall was broken down. Such a paroxysm is known to have occurred in the history of other volcanoes. In the case of Vesuvius, for example, Monte Somma remains as a fragment of the earlier and ampler condition of the mountain, before the catastrophe in which the upper part and the southern half of the cone were blown away. Since that event a new and smaller cone, forming the present Vesuvius, has been piled up on the southern segment of the old crater-rim.

The explosion that eviscerated the Alban volcano must have caused widespread desolation over the surrounding country. It was not improbably followed by a long interval of repose. But the subterranean energy was not exhausted, though it never again showed itself on so vigorous a scale. We can trace, indeed, the signs of its gradual enfeeblement. When it recommenced its activity the vent, which served as the channel by which its eruptions took place, still retained its central position. Round this vent a new but much smaller cone, bearing witness to less vigor of eruption, was built up in the middle of the crater. This younger mass rises in Monte Cavo to a height of 3150 feet, the highest elevation on the whole mountain. It encloses a well-marked crater with the flat plain of the Campo di Annibale at its bottom. Eventually the central orifice came to be choked up by the lava that had risen and solidified with it, and as the volcanic forces still sought an outlet to the surface, they were compelled to find egress at other and weaker points of the volcano. At least two explosions took

place on the old crater-rim and produced the deep-sunk and singularly impressive lakes of Albano and Nemi. Others broke out on the flanks of the great cone. Of these, the largest is marked by the crater of the Valle Ariccia, but at least two dozen of smaller size have been discriminated by the geologists of the Government Survey round the outer slopes of the volcano. These lateral vents probably mark the sites of the last eruptions.

While the Alban Mount was heaped up on the southern margin of the Campagna another independent series of volcanoes rose on the northern border. The Lago di Bracciano marks the position of the vent that lay nearest to Rome. The huge cavity in which this sheet of water lies is some six miles in diameter and not improbably owes its origin to another and still more stupendous explosion than that of the Alban Hills. The level of the lake is 538 English feet above the surface of the Mediterranean, and as the water is as much as 900 feet deep, the bottom is 362 feet below sea-level. The crater wall still rises in the Rocca Romana to a height of 1437 feet above the sea, or 900 feet higher than the lake which it encloses. Numerous streams of lava have poured down the outer slopes of the cone, especially on the southern flank. A few minor craters have been opened on its east side, and all round there still rise warm springs and emanations of sulphuretted hydrogen. To the north of this great vent lies another of similar character and origin but of smaller size, which now contains the Lago di Vico. The surface of this lake, which stands at a height of 1663 feet above sea-level, is encircled by a crater-wall which on the west side rises to nearly 1600 feet above the sheet of water which it encircles. To the northeast rises the volcanic mass of Monte Cimino, 3464 feet high. Still farther north is the largest of all the Italian crater-lakes, the Lago di Bolsena, which is no less than twenty-eight miles in circumference.

Having regard to the great variety of material in these different volcanic piles and to the evidence furnished by them that they were formed by many successive eruptions, perhaps separated from each other by long intervals of time, we cannot but be impressed with the antiquity of the cones and the protracted period required by each of them for its formation. We must remember, too, that from the very beginning of their history they were ceaselessly attacked by the various agents of subaërial erosion. The first showers of rain that fell on their young slopes of incoherent ashes gathered into runnels which would plough furrows in their descent to the plain. Century after century these watercourses were cut deeper and wider until they have attained the dimensions of the numerous *fossi* that now radiate from each crater-rim. In some cases these lines of erosion served as channels for the streams of lava that were poured down the slopes, as may be well seen on the southern flanks of the Bracciano volcano.

In most instances the molten rock stopped short on the flanks of its apparent mountain, but it occasionally descended into the plain, as in the familiar example on the Via Appia, where the stream flowed from the side of the Alban volcano for some six miles to within a short distance of the site of the future capital of the world. The lava is here a firm, compact, durable stone admirably adapted for pavements, a use to which it has been extensively put for more than two thousand years, both within the walls and on the great high roads that radiate from them. Here, again, we see how bountifully Rome was favored in regard to the materials needed for the construction of a great city.

The heaping of so much volcanic rock over the surface of the country must have greatly modified its topographical features. The drainage would especially be affected. Streams descending from the Apennines would find their direct passage to the sea blocked by the newly formed ridges, hills and mountains, and they might have to make long circuits before finding an exit. Lakes would gather in the hollows of the irregularly deposited tuff and others would fill up the cavities blown out by explosions and become crater-lakes. The case of the Tiber may be cited in illustration of the deflection of drainage. In earlier times, as I have already remarked, this river probably flowed southwestwards across the site of the volcanic district of Bolsena and Viterbo; but in consequence of the subsequent eruptions, the lower part of its course was buried and the stream, diverted at a right-angle, was made to run southeastwards, skirting the volcanic heights until, near Monte Soracte, it reached the plain between the base of the Bracciano and that of the Alban volcano, where it was able at length to find a seaward passage across the site of Rome.

That the early races of man witnessed and suffered from the latest eruptions may well be believed. The oldest traces of human occupation are stone implements, found more particularly in the higher river-gravels which, though they must undoubtedly date back to a remote antiquity, are certainly much later than the general mass of the tuff of the Campagna. Traditions of volcanic events seem to have survived into historic times. The pages of Livy, for example, contain references to showers of stones that fell in various places during the early centuries of Rome, and were regarded as portents of divine interposition in human affairs. We are told that in the hundredth year of the city showers of that kind fell on the Alban Mount, accompanied with loud noises from the wood on the summit. Again, in the year 540, fearful storms are said to have been experienced, while a fall of stones on the Alban Mount went on continuously for two days. Nineteen years later, amidst a miscellaneous series of prodigies, it is said to have rained stones at Aricia, Lanuvium, and on the Aventine. Such references

have by some writers been interpreted as proofs of true volcanic eruptions, thus bringing the activity of the volcanoes around Rome well down into historic time. A supposed confirmation of this conclusion has been claimed to have been found on the ridge of Castel Gandolfo, where numerous burial urns containing cremated human remains have been unearthed five or six feet below the surface of the ground. Associated with these interments were fibulæ and objects in amber and bronze, together with specimens of Etruscan or Italo-Greek pottery of a beautifully Archaic pattern. It has been maintained that the superficial covering of volcanic material (which has even been called "lava") has been the product of one or more volcanic eruptions, subsequent to the time of the burials, and hence that these eruptions must have taken place not only after the Stone Age, but even so late as after the coming of the Greek colonists. It has even been held that the shepherds of the Alban Hills, driven away from these heights by the violence of the volcanic disturbances, took refuge on the Seven Hills, where they founded the city and empire of Rome. More probably the volcanic detritus which overlies the cinerary urns is of much more ancient date, the interments having been made by digging down through it, long after the last eruptions of the volcano had ceased.

It is not necessary, however, to refuse credence to all the portents recounted by Livy. More than two thousand years ago, when the events cited by him are alleged to have happened, the volcanic forces of the region must have been more potent than they now are, and various manifestations by them may have occurred which we do not expect to see repeated at the present day. Though the subterranean fires have been steadily dwindling, they even yet retain heat enough to supply many thermal springs and to discharge large quantities of sulphuretted hydrogen gas. Now and then, also, they show a sudden though local manifestation of energy and cause disturbances sufficiently alarming to fill the population with superstitious dread. An instance of this kind, which was witnessed within living memory, may here be cited as affording a reasonable explanation of some of the supposed supernatural prodigies recorded in Roman history. On the south side of Monte Soracte lies a dried-up lake which, no doubt on account of its offensive sulphurous exhalations, was called the Lagopuzzo, or Stinking Mere. The late Professor Ponzi has recorded that towards the end of the month of October, in the year 1831, a series of cracks suddenly opened on this old lake-bottom and a large piece of flat ground lying between them gradually sank out of sight. At the same time subterranean rumblings commenced and grew in intensity, mingled with detonations like the thundering of cannon. The surrounding population fled in terror to the neighboring hills, whence, looking back, they could see earth and water thrown up from the

fissures, while a thick coating of dust fell over the whole district. The eruption began towards sunset and reached its culmination about seven o'clock in the evening. Next morning it was found that the Lagopuzzo was traversed by a chasm with vertical walls at the bottom of which lay a sheet of water covered with a white scum and giving off a powerful odor of sulphuretted hydrogen. The ground around the cavity was strewn with pools of water and lumps of erupted earth, sometimes seventy cubic feet in size, which had been ejected to a distance of one hundred feet. The cannon-like detonations continued, but grew gradually less violent, each of them being accompanied by a copious discharge of the ill-smelling gas which threw the water into such commotion as to undermine the surrounding walls of alluvial earth and to cause portions of them to fall into the abyss. After a few days the disturbances ceased, leaving as their memorial a cross-shaped chasm upwards of three hundred feet in diameter, with walls rising some fifteen feet above the water, which was ascertained to be about one hundred feet deep.

Many such incidents as this may have been experienced in the history of ancient Rome. They would be quite enough to fill the minds of the populace with terror and to call for a nine days' expiation and lustration of the city. The traditional legend of the chasm that opened in the Forum and into which Curtius threw himself in full armor to propitiate the gods and save the city may very well have been founded on a real event of this nature. The lake or quagmire in the Forum may have been another Lagopuzzo rent open by an outburst of gas. The subterranean rumblings and bellowings (*boati*) which were accounted such dire portents in old times were exactly repeated near Monte Soracte in the autumn of 1831.

Before we pass from this volcanic period to the consideration of the next phase in the history of the Campagna it may be noted as an interesting feature in the growth of the Italian peninsula that the subterranean energy has been slowly dying out from north to south. The volcanoes of Central Italy have long since entered into the closing or Solfatara stage, when only steam, hot vapors and gases are emitted. But at the southern end of the chain lies the still vigorous Solfatara of Naples, with the various cones around it, some of which have been in eruption within the last few centuries, while Vesuvius continues to maintain an intermittent activity. Still farther south lie the Æolian Islands, where Vulcano occasionally breaks out, while Stromboli remains, as it has done since the beginning of authentic history, in a state of constant ebullition and eructation. At the far extremity of the volcanic belt rises the colossal cone of Etna, which from time to time displays an energy worthy of its place among the great volcanoes of the globe.

III. We have traced how the platform of the Campagna has been step by step built up, partly by the accumulation of silt, sand, and gravel on the sea-floor, partly by volcanic ejection, and partly by a widespread uplift of the whole region above sea-level, and we now reach the third and last section of our history in which we have to consider how the present topography of the ground has been produced. A little reflection will convince us that even before its elevation into land, the submerged surface of the district was probably far from presenting a dead flat, though it no doubt approached nearer to that form than it has ever done since. In spite of the leveling action of waves and currents, the sea-floor in front of the Apennine chain must have abounded in inequalities caused not only by the scour of the water, but more especially by the irregular distribution of the volcanic débris and the greater accumulation of this material around the submarine vents. Such inequalities would not only remain but grow more pronounced when the sea-bottom became a land-surface. Every subsequent outbreak of eruptive energy would aggravate them, but ultimately more potent still, because incessant in its operation, would be the influence of the various sub-aërial agencies by which the land is continually abraded. It is to these agencies that we must mainly ascribe the present topography of the district. By a ceaseless process of sculpture the volcanic platform has been ultimately carved into hillock and ridge, crag and cliff, valley and ravine. The tools which Nature has employed in this task have been the air, with its wide range of temperature and moisture, frost, rain and running water in all its manifold forms, from the tiniest rill to the broad current of the Tiber.

The key to the interpretation of the origin of the scenery of the Campagna is supplied to us by the lines of drainage. On the uplift of the region into land the streams that descended from the steep front of the mountains would make their way seaward along the lowest levels which they could reach. The channels thus chosen by them would be maintained for the future, save where some landslip or volcanic eruption drove them to seek new courses for their waters. Failing such exceptional causes of diversion, the original lines of drainage would gradually be carved deeper into the framework of the land by the erosion of the water running in them. Thus the streams and the valleys which they have cut out for themselves are the most ancient features of the topography. Between them lie ridges and plateaux, which have gradually become prominent owing to the excavation of the intervening hollows. These eminences, though not subject to such marked and rapid demolition as the channels where running water is allowed free play, nevertheless undergo an appreciable decay. Attacked by the alternate expansion and contraction, due to the heat of a clear Italian noon, quickly followed by the chill of a starry Italian night, the faces of the crags and

cliffs are slowly disintegrated. Heavy rain washes off the loose crust and exposes a fresh surface to renewed attack. Alternate saturation by rain and drying in sunshine, the effects of frost and the abrading influence of wind, all contribute their share to the process of carving. By this universal process of denudation, while the topographical features have been made continually more pronounced, a considerable thickness of rock has no doubt been removed from the general surface of the whole ground since its elevation into land.

While it is thus easy to realize, as one traverses the Campagna, how its main topographical characteristics have been evolved, there is a special fascination in pursuing the investigation of particular features and trying to trace their origin in detail. Take, for instance, the story of the valleys. I can hardly imagine a more delightful task for a lover of geology than to work out the history of the Tiber—an investigation which from the point of view we are here considering still remains to be accomplished. Even from any of the hills of Rome it is not difficult to follow some of the stages of this history. We have seen that the river may have flowed at first south-westward from its estuary among the Todi hills across the site of the volcanic district to the sea somewhere north of Civita Vecchia. We have further found that the volcanic eruptions which gave rise to the long line of heights between Aquapendente and Bracciano probably blocked up the older channel, and turned the stream towards the southeast and for many miles kept it from once more bending seawards until at last it found its escape across the low ground of the Campagna. Looking from the Monti Parioli up the broad strath, we see the Tiber meandering through its flat alluvial plain which, from a width of a mile and a half, suddenly contracts immediately below us to less than a third of that space. The meaning of this constriction will be understood if we remember the position of the sheet of hard travertine to which allusion has already been made. When the river began to flow across this tract of country, the general level of the ground, not yet reduced by prolonged denudation, was no doubt a good deal above what it is now, and the bed of the stream may even have lain at a higher level than the tops of the present ridges in which Rome is built. After traversing the volcanic plain the Tiber reached the western margin of this tract near where the Monti Parioli now rise. It then flowed southwards between the slopes of Monte Mario and the edge of the volcanic accumulations. It cut its way downward through the upper parts of the tuff, and at length encountered the sheet of travertine near the Ponte Molle. This hard stone would form for a time a barrier to the erosion which must have been comparatively rapid among the soft overlying tuffs. The river, ponded back into a lake-like expansion in front of the mouth of

the Anio, was made to sweep in a wide curve into the softer Pliocene strata of the Vatican ridge on the right bank. The travertine extends through the Parioli ridge and round the base of the Pincian Hill. A similar rock emerges in the precipitous bank on the west side of the Aventine, and farther south at the Monte Della Creta, opposite the Magliana bridge. Even where this resisting stone disappears, its place has often been taken by a variety of tuff much more compact than the usual rock of the district. It is the presence of these more durable kinds of stone that has curbed the erosive progress of the river on its left bank through the area on which the city stands. Where these barriers to its action were locally absent the river was able to scoop out bays and recesses among the softer parts of the tuffs. The Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine and Celian hills have survived as more or less isolated eminences from their fortunate possession of a more obdurate stone than the loose granular tuff of the surrounding Campagna. They once rose as islands out of the flood plain, and their steep sides, such as the Tarpeian rock and the cliffs that surrounded the original Roma Quadrata, owed their precipitousness mainly to the scour of the Tiber as it swept past their base.

Hardly less attractive would be the task of deciphering the history of the rough craggy ridges and broad, smooth plateaux which form such distinctive features in the scenery of the Campagna. In this investigation we would mark how these differences of contour have mainly arisen from variations in the character of the volcanic tuff. Where the rock has possessed little coherence and has consequently yielded more easily to the weather, it has crumbled away for the most part into gentle slopes which have been more or less shielded from further decay by a mantle of vegetation. But where the loose ashes and scorixæ have been accompanied with much fine dust and have consolidated into a hard, compact stone, this material has survived to form the more rugged features of the scenery. Every stage in the progress of the sculpture may be instructively seen at the edge of the volcanic plain, where it winds round the projecting spurs and curves into the retreating hollows and bays of the great Apennine wall. Little imagination is needed to picture this plain as a sea-floor over which the waves rolled along the base of the mountains. But when it was raised into land the torrents from the uplands began to dig out of it winding channels, which were gradually deepened into gullies that unite into wider ravines as they descend. Between those defiles portions of the old plain have been left, along the sides of which the successive sheets of tuff run as bold ribs or as green slopes, according to their relative durability. Here and there one of these outliers, girdled round with vertical walls of rock, rises as an almost inaccessible platform above the ravines around, and has served as the site of some pre-

historic citadel or of some mediæval fortalice. All over the Campagna, indeed, from the very earliest ages, advantage has been taken of such defensible sites. They were selected as positions for the cities of Latium and Etruria, art often aiding to scarp their sides into steeper and more continuous crags than Nature had provided. They supplied convenient sites for the abundant *suburbana* or country villas and manors of ancient Rome, and they were used over and again in the stormy Middle Ages for the erection of fortified farms and refuge-towers.

A discussion of the history of the Campagna would probably be regarded as culpably incomplete without at least a reference to the causes that have led to the solitude and desolation of the region. There can be little doubt that in the days of the Empire the plain was thickly peopled and well cultivated. It could not have been the fever-stricken place which it has since become. The wealthy Romans were delighted to escape from the tumult of town to their quiet and healthy retreats in the country where, amid the pleasures and occupations of their farms, they could spend the hottest, and what is now the most insalubrious, season of the year. Yet there would seem to have been even then malarious tracts in the Campagna. Cicero boasts of the healthiness of Rome, compared with the pestilential character of the surrounding district. The porousness of the tuff all over the country, as I have above remarked, allows a large proportion of the rain to sink at once under ground, instead of flowing off into runnels and brooks. The water finds its way again to the surface at lower levels, either in the form of springs or oozing from the soil. In the hollows where the drainage accumulates, stagnant pools and marshes arise, which become the great nurseries of malaria. In the most flourishing days of Rome when the whole surface of the Campagna was populous and in full cultivation, attention was alive to the importance of drainage. Probably most of the swampy tracts, whence mosquitoes now swarm, were then dry and turned over by the plough or the spade. The general processes of agriculture prevented the accumulation of stagnant water and rotting vegetation. But with the fall of Rome and the devastation of the Campagna by successive hordes of barbarians, the villas fell into ruins, the inhabitants were in great measure extirpated, the farms remained untilled, the soil was left untouched, the water was allowed once more to gather and the vegetation to decay in the hollows. In the well-known words of Gibbon, "The Campagna of Rome was speedily reduced to the state of a dreary wilderness in which the land is barren, the waters are impure and the air is infectious." Fever, which probably always found a home in various parts of the district, now stalked everywhere, until at the end of the twelfth century, when the population of the city had fallen to no more than 35,000 souls, Pope Innocent III. could de-

clare that it was difficult to find there a man of forty years of age and hardly possible to meet with one of sixty.

No one will dispute that the sole, or at least the chief, cause of this long-continued depopulation is to be found in the prevalence of malarious fever. Nor since modern science has so clearly revealed the nature and source of this decimating malady can there be any hesitation as to the more important steps that must be taken to restore the region to healthfulness and fertility. Schemes are now in contemplation to reclaim these wastes to cultivation and to repeople them with an industrious peasantry. While every lover of Italy will rejoice over the successful accomplishment of such a beneficent reform, those who have known the Campagna in the days of its desolation and have found in its weird loneliness and quiet beauty, in its monuments and memories of the past, an inexpressible delight, will perhaps be pardoned if they regretfully look back upon another of the charms of Rome which shall then have passed away.

COLERIDGE

ARTHUR SYMONS

LONDON

IN one of Rossetti's invaluable notes on poetry, he tells us that to him "the leading point about Coleridge's work is its human love." We may remember Coleridge's own words:

"To be beloved is all I need,
And whom I love I love indeed."

Yet love, though it is the word which he uses of himself, is not really what he himself meant when using it, but rather an affectionate sympathy, in which there seems to have been little element of passion. Writing to his wife, during that first absence in Germany, whose solitude tried him so much, he laments that there is "no one to love." "Love is the vital air of my genius," he tells her, and adds: "I am deeply convinced that if I were to remain a few years among objects for whom I had no affection, I should wholly lose the powers of intellect."

With this incessant, passionless sensibility, it was not unnatural that his thirst for friendship was stronger than his need of love; that to him friendship was hardly distinguishable from love. Throughout all his letters there is a series of causeless explosions of emotion, which it is hardly possible to take seriously, but which, far from being insincere, is really, no doubt, the dribbling overflow of choked-up feelings, a sort of moral leakage. It might be said of Coleridge, in the phrase which he used of Nelson, that he was "heart-starved." Tied for life to a woman with whom he had not one essential sympathy, the whole of his nature was put out of focus; and perhaps nothing but "the joy of grief," and the terrible and fettering power of luxuriating over his own sorrows, and tracing them to first principles, outside himself or in the depths of his sub-consciousness, gave him the courage to support that long, ever-present divorce.

Both for his good and evil, he had never been able to endure emotion without either diluting or intensifying it with thought, and with always self-conscious thought. He uses identically the same words in writing his last, deeply moved letter to Mary Evans, and in relating the matter to Southey. He cannot get away from words; coming as near to sincerity as he can, words are always between him and his emotion. Hence his over-emphasis, his rhetoric of humility. In 1794 he writes to his brother George: "Mine eyes gush out with tears, my heart is sick and languid with the weight of unmerited kindness." Nine days later he writes to his brother James: "My conduct towards you, and towards my other broth-

ers, has displayed a strange combination of madness, ingratitude, and dishonesty. But you forgive me. May my Maker forgive me! May the time arrive when I shall have forgiven myself!" Here we see both what he calls his "gangrened sensibility" and a complete abandonment to the feelings of the moment. It is always a self-conscious abandonment, during which he watches himself with approval, and seems to be saying: "Now that is truly 'feeling'!" He can never concentrate himself on any emotion; he swims about in floods of his own tears. With so little sense of reality in anything, he has no sense of the reality of direct emotion, but is preoccupied, from the moment of the first shock, in exploring it for its universal principle, and then flourishes it almost in triumph at what he has discovered. This is not insincerity; it is the metaphysical, analytical, and parenthetical mind in action. "I have endeavored to feel what I ought to feel," he once significantly writes.

Coleridge had many friends, to some of whom, as to Lamb, his friendship was the most priceless thing in life; but the friendship which meant most to him, not only as a man, but as a poet, was the friendship with Wordsworth and with Dorothy Wordsworth. "There is a sense of the word Love," he wrote to Wordsworth in 1812, "in which I never felt it but to you and one of your household." After his quarrel in that year he has "an agony of weeping." "After fifteen years of such religious, almost superstitious idolatry and self-sacrifice!" he laments. Now it was during his first, daily companionship with the Wordsworths that he wrote almost all his greatest work. "The Ancient Mariner" and "Christabel" were both written in a kind of rivalry with Wordsworth; and the "Ode on Dejection" was written after four months' absence from him, in the first glow and encouragement of a return to that one inspiring comradeship. Wordsworth was the only poet among his friends whom he wholly admired, and Wordsworth was more exclusively a poet, more wholly absorbed in thinking poetry and thinking about poetry, and in a thoroughly practical way, than almost any poet who has ever lived. It was not only for his solace in life that Coleridge required sympathy; he needed the galvanizing of continual intercourse with a poet, and one to whom poetry was the only thing of importance. Coleridge, when he was by himself, was never sure of this; there was his *magnum opus*, the revelation of all philosophy; and he sometimes has doubts of the worth of his own poetry. Had Coleridge been able to live uninterruptedly in the company of the Wordsworths, even with the unsympathetic wife at home, the opium in the cupboard, and the *magnum opus* on the desk, I am convinced that we should have had for our reading to-day all those poems which went down with him into silence.

What Coleridge lacked was what theologians call a "saving belief" in Christianity, or else a strenuous intellectual immorality. He imagined himself to believe in Christianity, but his belief never realized itself in effective action, either in the mind or in conduct, while it frequently clogged his energies by weak scruples and restrictions which were but so many internal irritations. He calls upon the religion which he has never firmly apprehended to support him under some misfortune of his own making; it does not support him, but he finds excuses for his weakness in what seem to him its promises of help. Coleridge was not strong enough to be a Christian, and he was not strong enough to rely on the impulses of his own nature, and to turn his failings into a very actual kind of success. When Blake said, "If the fool would persist in his folly he would become wise," he expressed a profound truth which Nietzsche and others have done little more than amplify. There is nothing so hopeless as inert or inactive virtue: it is a form of life grown putrid, and it turns into poisonous, decaying matter in the soul. If Coleridge had been more callous towards what he felt to be his duties, if he had not merely neglected them, as he did, but justified himself for neglecting them, on any ground of intellectual or physical necessity, or if he had merely let them slide without thought or regret, he would have been more complete, more effectual, as a man, and he might have achieved more finished work as an artist.

To Coleridge there was as much difficulty in belief as in action, for belief is itself an action of the mind. He was always anxious to believe anything that would carry him beyond the limits of time and space, but it was not often that he could give more than a speculative assent to even the most improbable of creeds. Always seeking fixity, his mind was too fluid for any anchor to hold in it. He drifted from speculation to speculation, often seeming to forget his aim by the way, in almost the collector's delight over the curiosities he had found in passing. On one page of his letters he writes earnestly to the atheist Thelwall in defence of Christianity; on another page we find him saying, "My Spinosism (if Spinosism it be, and i' faith 'tis very like it)"; and then comes the solemn assurance: "I am a Berkleyan." Southey, in his rough, uncomprehending way, writes: "Hartley was ousted by Berkeley, Berkeley by Spinoza, and Spinoza by Plato; when last I saw him Jacob Behmen had some chance of coming in. The truth is that he plays with systems"; so it seemed to Southey, who could see no better. To Coleridge all systems were of importance, because in every system there was its own measure of truth. He was always setting his mind to think about itself, and felt that he worked both hard and well if he had gained a clearer glimpse into that dark cavern. "Yet I have not been altogether idle," he writes in December, 1800, "having in my own

conceit gained great light into several parts of the human mind which have hitherto remained either wholly unexplained or most falsely explained." In March, 1801, he declares that he has "completely extricated the notions of time and space." "This," he says, "I have *done*; but I trust that I am about to do more—namely, that I shall be able to evolve all the five senses, and to state their growth and the causes of their difference, and in this evolvment to solve the process of life and consciousness." He hopes that before his thirtieth year he will "thoroughly understand the whole of Nature's works." "My opinion is this," he says, defining one part at least of his way of approach to truth, "that deep thinking is attainable only by a man of deep feeling, and that all truth is a species of revelation." On the other hand, he assures us, speaking of that *magnum opus* which weighed upon him and supported him to the end of his life, "the very object throughout from the first page to the last [is] to reconcile the dictates of common sense with the conclusions of scientific reasoning."

This *magnum opus*, "a work which should contain all knowledge and proclaim all philosophy, had," says Mr. Ernest Coleridge, "been Coleridge's dream from the beginning." Only a few months before his death, we find him writing to John Sterling: "Many a fond dream have I amused myself with, of your residing near me, or in the same house, and of preparing, with your and Mr. Green's assistance, my whole system for the press, as far as it exists in any *systematic* form; that is, beginning with the Propyleum, On the Power and Use of Words, comprising Logic, as the Canons of *Conclusion*, as the criterion of *Premises*, and lastly as the discipline and evolution of Ideas (and then the Methodus et Epochee, or the Disquisition on God, Nature, and Man), the two first grand divisions of which, from the Ens super Ens to the *Fall*, or from God to Hades, and then from Chaos to the commencement of living organization, containing the whole of the Dynamic Philosophy, and the deduction of the Powers and Forces, are complete." Twenty years earlier, he had written to Daniel Stuart that he was keeping his morning hours sacred to his "most important Work, which is printing at Bristol," as he imagined. It was then to be called "Christianity, the one true Philosophy, or Five Treatises on the Logos, or Communicative Intelligence, natural, human, and divine." Of this vast work only fragments remain, mostly unpublished: two large quarto volumes on logic, a volume intended as an introduction, a commentary on the Gospels and some of the Epistles, together with "innumerable fragments of metaphysical and theological speculation." But out of those fragments no system was ever to be constructed, though a fervent disciple, J. H. Green, devoted twenty-eight years to the attempt. "Christabel" unfinished, the *magnum opus* unachieved—both were but parallel symptoms of a

mind "thought-bewildered" to the end, and bewildered by excess of light and by crowding energies always in conflict, always in escape.

Coleridge's search, throughout his life, was after the absolute, an absolute not only in thought but in all human relations, in love, friendship, faith in man, faith in God, faith in beauty; and while it was this profound dissatisfaction with less than the perfect form of every art, passion, thought, or circumstance, that set him adrift in life, making him seem untrue to duty, conviction, and himself, it was this also that formed in him the double existence of the poet and the philosopher, each supplementing and interpenetrating the other. The poet and the philosopher are but two aspects of one reality; or rather, the poetic and the philosophic attitudes are but two ways of seeing. The poet who is not also a philosopher is like a flower without a root. Both seek the same infinitude; one apprehending the idea, the other the image. One seeks truth for its beauty; the other finds beauty, an abstract, intellectual beauty, in the innermost home of truth. Poetry and metaphysics are alike a disengaging, for different ends, of the absolute element in things.

In Coleridge, metaphysics joined with an unbounded imagination, in equal flight from reality, from the notions of time and space. Each was an equal denial of the reality of what we call real things; the one experimental, searching, reasoning; the other a "shaping spirit of imagination," an embodying force. His sight was always straining into the darkness; and he has himself noted that from earliest childhood his "mind was habituated to the Vast." "I never regarded my senses," he says, "as the criteria of my belief"; and "those who have been led to the same truths step by step, through the constant testimony of their senses, seem to want a sense which I possess." To Coleridge only mind existed, an eternal and an eternally active thought; and it was as a corollary to his philosophical conception of the universe that he set his mind to a conscious re-building of the world in space. His magic, that which makes his poetry, was but the final release in art of a winged thought fluttering helplessly among speculations and theories; it was the song of release.

De Quincey has said of Coleridge: "I believe it to be notorious that he first began the use of opium, not as a relief from any bodily pains or nervous irritations—for his constitution was strong and excellent—but as a source of luxurious sensations." Hartley Coleridge, in the biographical supplement to the "*Biographia Literaria*," replies with what we now know to be truth: "If my Father sought more from opium than the mere absence of pain, I feel assured that it was not luxurious sensations or the glowing phantasmagoria of passive dreams; but that the power of the medicine might keep down the agitations of his nervous system, like a strong

hand grasping the strings of some shattered lyre." In 1795, that is, at the age of twenty-three, we find him taking laudanum; in 1796, he is taking it in large doses; by the late spring of 1801 he is under the "fearful slavery," as he was to call it, of opium. "My sole sensuality," he says of this time, "was not to be in pain." In a terrible letter addressed to Joseph Cottle in 1814 he declares that he was "seduced to the *accursed* habit ignorantly"; and he describes "the direful moment, when my pulse began to fluctuate, my heart to palpitate, and such a dreadful falling abroad, as it were, of my whole frame, such intolerable restlessness, and incipient bewilderment . . . for my case is a species of madness, only that it is a derangement, an utter impotence of the volition, and not of the intellectual faculties." And, throughout, it is always the pains, never the pleasures, of opium that he registers. Opium took hold of him by what was inert in his animal nature, and not by any active sensuality. His imagination required no wings, but rather fetters; and it is evident that opium was more often a sedative than a spur to his senses.

The effect of opium on the normal man is to bring him into something like the state in which Coleridge habitually lived. The world was always a sufficiently unreal thing to him, facts more than remote enough, consequences unrelated to their causes; he lived in a mist, and opium thickened the mist to a dense yellow fog. Opium might have helped to make Southey a poet; it left Coleridge the prisoner of a cobweb-net of dreams. What he wanted was some astringent force in things, to tighten, not to loosen, the always expanding and uncontrollable limits of his mind. Opium did but confirm what the natural habits of his constitution had bred in him: an overwhelming indolence, out of which the energies that still arose intermittently were no longer flames, but the escaping ghosts of flame, mere black smoke.

At twenty-four, in a disinterested description of himself for the benefit of a friend whom he had not yet met, he declares, "the walk of the whole man indicates *indolence capable of energies*." It was that walk which Carlyle afterwards described, unable to keep to either side of the garden-path. "The moral obligation is to me so very strong a stimulant," Coleridge writes to Crabb Robinson, "that in nine cases out of ten it acts as a narcotic. The blow that should rouse, *stuns* me." He plays another variation on the ingenious theme in a letter to his brother: "Anxieties that stimulate others infuse an additional narcotic into my mind. . . . Like some poor laborer, whose night's sleep has but imperfectly refreshed his over-wearied frame, I have sate in drowsy uneasiness, and doing nothing have thought what a deal I have to do." His ideal, which he expressed in 1797 in a letter to Thelwall, and, in 1813, almost word for word, in a poem

called "The Night-Scene," was, "like the Indian Vishnu, to float about along an infinite ocean cradled in the flower of the Lotus, and wake once in a million years for a few minutes just to know that I was going to sleep a million years more." Observe the effect of the desire for the absolute, reinforced by constitutional indolence, and only waiting for the illuminating excuse of opium.

From these languors, and from their consequences, Coleridge found relief in conversation, for which he was always ready, while he was far from always ready for the more precise mental exertion of writing. "Oh, how I wish to be talking, not writing," he cries in a letter to Southey in 1803, "for my mind is so full, that my thoughts stifle and jam each other." And, in 1816, in his first letter to Gillman, he writes, more significantly, "The stimulus of conversation suspends the terror that haunts my mind; but when I am alone, the horrors that I have suffered from laudanum, the degradation, the blighted utility, almost overwhelm me." It was along one avenue of this continual escape from himself that Coleridge found himself driven (anywhere, away from action) towards what grew to be the main waste of his life. Hartley Coleridge, in the preface to "Table-Talk," has told us eloquently how, "throughout a long-drawn summer's day, would this man talk to you in low, equable, but clear and musical tones, concerning things human and divine"; we know that Carlyle found him "unprofitable, even tedious," and wished "to worship him, and toss him in a blanket"; and we have the vivid reporting of Keats, who tells us that, on his one meeting with Coleridge, "I walked with him, at his alderman-after-dinner pace, for near two miles, I suppose. In those two miles he broached a thousand things. Let me see if I can give you a list—nightingales—poetry—on poetical sensation—metaphysics—different genera and species of dreams—nightmare—a dream accompanied with a sense of touch—single and double touch—a dream related—first and second consciousness—the difference explained between will and volition—so say metaphysicians from a want of smoking—the second consciousness—monsters—the Kraken—mermaids—Southey believes in them—Southey's belief too much diluted—a ghost story—Good-morning—I heard his voice as he came towards me—I heard it as he moved away—I had heard it all the interval—if it may be called so." It may be that we have had no more wonderful talker, and, no doubt, the talk had its reverential listeners, its disciples; but to cultivate or permit disciples is itself a kind of waste, a kind of weakness; it requires a very fixed and energetic indolence to become, as Coleridge became, a vocal utterance, talking for talking's sake.

But beside talking, there was lecturing, with Coleridge a scarcely different form of talk; and it is to this consequence of a readiness to speak and

a reluctance to write that we owe much of his finest criticism, in the imperfectly recorded "Lectures on Shakespeare." Coleridge as a critic is not easily to be summed up. What may first surprise us, when we begin to look into his critical opinions, is the uncertainty of his judgments in regard to his own work, and to the work of his friends; the curious bias which a feeling or an idea, affection or a philosophical theory, could give to his mind. His admiration for Southey, his consideration for Sotheby, perhaps in a less degree his unconquerable esteem for Bowles, together with something very like adulation of Wordsworth, are all instances of a certain loss of the sense of proportion. He has left us no penetrating criticisms of Byron, of Shelley, or of Keats; and in a very interesting letter about Blake, written in 1818, he is unable to take the poems merely as poems, and chooses among them with a scrupulous care "not for the want of innocence in the poem, but from the too probable want of it in many readers."

Lamb, concerned only with individual things, looks straight at them, not through them, seeing them implacably. His notes to the selections from the Elizabethan dramatists are the surest criticisms that we have in English; they go to the roots. Coleridge's critical power was wholly exercised upon elements and first principles; Lamb showed an infinitely keener sense of detail, of the parts of the whole. Lamb was unerring on definite points, and could lay his finger on flaws in Coleridge's work that were invisible to Coleridge; who, however, was unerring in his broad distinctions, in the philosophy of his art.

"The ultimate end of criticism," said Coleridge, "is much more to establish the principles of writing than to furnish rules how to pass judgment on what has been written by others." And for this task he had an incomparable foundation—imagination, insight, logic, learning, almost every critical quality united in one; and he was a poet who allowed himself to be a critic. Those pages of the "Biographia Literaria" in which he defines and distinguishes between imagination and fancy, the researches into the abstract entities of poetry in the course of an examination of Wordsworth's theories and of the popular objections to them, all that we have of the lectures on Shakespeare, into which he put an illuminating idolatry, together with notes and jottings preserved in the "Table-Talk," "Anima Poetæ," the "Literary Remains," and on the margins of countless books, contain the most fundamental criticism of literature that has ever been attempted, fragmentary as the attempt remains. "There is not a man in England," said Coleridge with truth, "whose thoughts, images, words, and erudition have been published in larger quantities than *mine*; though I must admit, not *by*, nor *for*, myself." He claimed, and rightly, as his invention, a "science of reasoning and judging concerning the productions of litera-

ture, the characters and measures of public men, and the events of nations, by a systematic subsumption of them, under principles deduced from the nature of man," which, as he says, was unknown before the year 1795. He is the one philosophical critic who is also a poet, and thus he is the one critic who instinctively knows his way through all the intricacies of the creative mind.

Most of his best criticism circles around Shakespeare; and he took Shakespeare almost frankly in the place of Nature, or of poetry. He affirms, "Shakespeare knew the human mind, and its most minute and intimate workings, and he never introduces a word, or a thought, in vain or out of place." This granted—and to Coleridge it is essential that it should be granted, for in less than the infinite he cannot find space in which to use his wings freely—he has only to choose and define, to discover and to illuminate. In the "myriad-minded man," in his "oceanic mind," he finds all the material that he needs for the making of a complete æsthetics. Nothing with Coleridge ever came to completion; but we have only to turn over the pages about Shakespeare, to come upon fragments worth more than anyone else's finished work. I find the whole secret of Shakespeare's way of writing in these sentences: "Shakespeare's intellectual action is wholly unlike that of Ben Jonson or Beaumont and Fletcher. The latter see the totality of a sentence or passage, and then project it entire. Shakespeare goes on creating, and evolving B out of A, and C out of B, and so on, just as a serpent moves, which makes a fulcrum of its own body, and seems forever twisting and untwisting its own strength." And here are a few axioms, "The grandest efforts of poetry are where the imagination is called forth, not to produce a distinct form, but a strong working of the mind"; or, in other words, "The power of poetry is, by a single word perhaps, to instil that energy into the mind which compels the imagination to produce the picture." "Poetry is the identity of all other knowledges," "the blossom and fragrance of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions, language." "Verse is in itself a music, and the natural symbol of that union of passion with thought and pleasure, which constitutes the essence of all poetry"; "a more than usual state of emotion, with more than usual order," as he has elsewhere defined it. And, in one of his spoken counsels, he says: "I wish our clever young poets would remember my homely definitions of prose and poetry; that is, prose—words in their best order; poetry—the best words in the best order."

Unlike most creative critics, or most critics who were creative artists in another medium, Coleridge, when he was writing criticism, wrote it wholly for its own sake, almost as if it were a science. His prose is rarely of the finest quality as prose writing. Here and there he can strike out a phrase

at red-heat, as when he christens Shakespeare "the one Proteus of the fire and flood"; or he can elaborate subtly, as when he notes the judgment of Shakespeare, observable in every scene of the "Tempest," "still preparing, still inviting, and still gratifying, like a finished piece of music"; or he can strike us with the wit or the pure intellect, as when he condemns certain work for being "as trivial in thought and yet enigmatic in expression, as if Echo and the Sphinx had laid their heads together to construct it." But for the most part it is a kind of thinking aloud, and the form is wholly lost in the pursuit of ideas. With his love for the absolute, why is it that he does not seek after an absolute in words considered as style, as well as in words considered as the expression of thought? In his finest verse Coleridge has the finest style perhaps in English; but his prose is never quite reduced to order from its tumultuous amplitude or its snake-like involution. Is it that he values it only as a medium, not as an art? His art is verse, and this he dreads, because of its too mortal closeness to his heart; the prose is a means to an end, not an end in itself.

The poetry of Coleridge, though it is closely interwoven with the circumstances of his life, is rarely made directly out of those circumstances. To some extent this is no doubt explained by a fact to which he often refers in his letters, and which, in his own opinion, hindered him not only from writing about himself in verse, but from writing verse at all. "As to myself," he writes in 1802, "all my poetic genius . . . is gone," and he attributes it "to my long and exceedingly severe metaphysical investigations, and these partly to ill-health, and partly to private afflictions which rendered any subjects, immediately connected with feeling, a source of pain and disquiet to me." In 1818 he writes: "Poetry is out of the question. The attempt would only hurry me into that sphere of acute feelings from which abstruse research, the mother of self-oblivion, presents an asylum." But theory worked with a natural tendency in keeping him for the most part away from any attempt to put his personal emotions into verse. "A sound promise of genius," he considered, "is the choice of subjects very remote from the private interests and circumstances of the writer himself." With only a few exceptions, the wholly personal poems, those actually written under a shock of emotion, are vague, generalized, turned into a kind of literature. The success of such a poem as the almost distressingly personal "Ode on Dejection" comes from the fact that Coleridge has been able to project his personal feeling into an outward image, which becomes to him the type of dejection; he can look at it as at one of his dreams which become things; he can sympathize with it as he could never sympathize with his

own undeserving self. And thus one stanza, perhaps the finest as poetry, becomes the biography of his soul,

“There was a time when, though my path was rough,
This joy within me dallied with distress,
And all misfortunes were but as the stuff,
Whence Fancy made me dreams of happiness :
For hope grew round me, like the twining vine,
And fruits, and foliage, not my own, seemed mine.
But now afflictions bow me down to earth :
Nor care I though they rob me of my mirth ;
But oh! each visitation
Suspends what nature gave me at my birth,
My shaping spirit of Imagination.
For not to think of what I needs must feel,
But to be still and patient all I can,
And haply by abstruse research to steal
From my own nature all the natural man—
This was my sole resource, my only plan :
Till that which suits a part infects the whole,
And now is almost grown the habit of my soul.”

Elsewhere, in personal poems like “Frost at Midnight,” and “Fears in Solitude,” all the value of the poem comes from the delicate sensations of natural things which mean so much more to us, whether or not they did to him, than the strictly personal part of the matter. You feel that there he is only using the quite awake part of himself, which is not the essential one. He requires, first of all, to be disinterested, or at least not overcome by emotion; to be without passion but that of abstract beauty, in Nature, or in idea; and then to sink into a quite lucid sleep, in which his genius came to him like some attendant spirit.

In the life and art of Coleridge, the hours of sleep seem to have been almost more important than the waking hours. “My dreams became the substance of my life,” he writes, just after the composition of that terrible poem on “The Pains of Sleep,” which is at once an outcry of agony, and a yet more disturbing vision of the sufferer with his fingers on his own pulse, his eyes fixed on his own hardly awakened eyes in the mirror. In an earlier letter, written at a time when he is trying to solve the problem of the five senses, he notes: “The sleep which I have is made up of ideas so connected, and so little different from the operations of reason, that it does not afford me the due refreshment.” To Coleridge, with the help of opium, hardly required, indeed, there was no conscious division between day and night, between not only dreams and intuitions, but dreams and pure reason. And

we find him, in almost all his great poems, frankly taking not only his substance but his manner from dreams, as he dramatizes them after a logic and a passion of their own. His technique is the transposition into his waking hours of the unconscious technique of dreams. It is a kind of verified inspiration, something which came and went, and was as little to be relied upon as the inspiration itself. On one side it was an exact science, but on the other a heavenly visitation. Count and balance syllables, work out an addition of the feet in the verse by the foot-rule, and you will seem to have traced every miracle back to its root in a natural product. Only, something, that is, everything, will have escaped you. As well dissect a corpse to find out the principles of life. That elusive something, that spirit, will be what distinguishes Coleridge's finest verse from the verse of, well, perhaps of every conscious artist in our language. For it is not, as in Blake, literally unconscious, and wavering on every breath of that unseen wind on which it floats to us; it is faultless; it is itself the wind which directs it, it steers its way on the wind, like a seagull poised between sky and sea, and turning on its wings as upon shifted sails.

This inspiration comes upon Coleridge suddenly, without warning, in the first uncertain sketch of "Lewti," written at twenty-two; and then it leaves him, without warning, until the great year 1797, three years later, when "Christabel" and "The Ancient Mariner" are begun. Before and after, Coleridge is seen trying to write like Bowles, like Wordsworth, like Southey, perhaps, to attain "that impetuosity of transition and that precipitancy of fancy and feeling, which are the *essential* qualities of the sublimer Ode," and which he fondly fancies that he has attained in the "Ode on the Departing Year," with its one good line, taken out of his note-book. But here, in "Lewti," he has his style, his lucid and liquid melody, his imagery of moving light and the faintly veiled transparency of air, his vague, wildly romantic subject matter, coming from no one knows where, meaning one hardly knows what; but already a magic, an incantation. "Lewti" is a sort of preliminary study for "Kubla Khan"; it, too, has all the imagery of a dream, with a breathlessness and awed hush, as of one not yet accustomed to be at home in dreams.

"Kubla Khan," which was literally composed in sleep, comes nearer than any other existing poem to that ideal of lyric poetry which has only lately been systematized by theorists like Mallarmé. It has just enough meaning to give it bodily existence; otherwise it would be disembodied music. It seems to hover in the air, like one of the island enchantments of Prospero. It is music not made with hands, and the words seem, as they literally were, remembered. "All the images," said Coleridge, "rose up before me as *things*, with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions." Lamb,

who tells us how Coleridge repeated it "so enchantingly that it irradiates and brings heaven and elysian bowers into my parlor when he says or sings it to me," doubted whether it would "bear daylight." It seemed to him that such witchcraft could hardly outlast the night. It has outlasted the century, and may still be used as a touchstone; it will determine the poetic value of any lyric poem which you place beside it. Take as many poems as you please, and let them have all the merits you please, their ultimate merit as poetry will lie in the degree of their approach to the exact, unconscious, inevitable balance of qualities in the poetic art of "Kubla Khan."

In "The Ancient Mariner," which it seems probable was composed before, and not after "Kubla Khan," as Coleridge's date would have us suppose, a new supernaturalism comes into poetry, which, for the first time, accepted the whole responsibility of dreams. The impossible, frankly accepted, with its own strict, inverted logic; the creation of a new atmosphere, outside the known world, which becomes as real as the air about us, and yet never loses its strangeness; the shiver that comes to us, as it came to the wedding-guest, from the simple good faith of the teller; here is a whole new creation, in subject, mood, and technique. Here, as in "Kubla Khan," Coleridge saw the images "as *things*"; only a mind so overshadowed by dreams, and so easily able to carry on his sleep awake, could have done so; and, with such a mind, "that willing suspension of disbelief for a moment, which constitutes poetic faith," was literally forced upon him. "The excellence aimed at," says Coleridge, "was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions, as would naturally accompany such situations," those produced by supernatural agency, "supposing them real. And real in this sense they have been to every human being who, from whatever sense of delusion, has at any time believed himself under supernatural agency." To Coleridge, whatever appealed vitally to his imagination *was* real; and he defended his belief philosophically, disbelieving from conviction in that sharp marking off from imaginary of the real as that which is part of the ordinary attitude of man in the presence of mystery.

It must not be forgotten that Coleridge is never fantastic. The fantastic is a playing with the imagination, and Coleridge respects it. His intellect goes always easily as far as his imagination will carry it, and does not stop by the way to play tricks upon its bearer. Hence the conviction which he brings with him when he tells us the impossible. And then his style, in its ardent and luminous simplicity, flexible to every bend of the spirit which it clothes with flesh, helps him in the idiomatic translation of dreams. The visions of Swedenborg are literal translations of the imagination, and need to be re-translated. Coleridge is equally faithful to the thing seen and to the laws of that new world into which he has transposed it.

"The Ancient Mariner" is the most sustained piece of imagination in the whole of English poetry; and it has almost every definable merit of imaginative narrative. It is the only poem I know which is all point and yet all poetry; because, I suppose, the point is really a point of mystery. It is full of simple, daily emotion, transported, by an awful power of sight, to which the limits of reality are no barrier, into an unknown sea and air; it is realized throughout the whole of its ghastly and marvelous happenings; and there is in the narrative an ease, a buoyancy almost, which I can only compare with the music of Mozart, extracting its sweetness from the stuff of tragedy; it presents to us the utmost physical and spiritual horror, not only without disgust, but with an alluring beauty. But in "Christabel," in the first part especially, we find a quality which goes almost beyond these definable merits. There is in it a literal spell, not acting along any logical lines, not attacking the nerves, not terrifying, not intoxicating, but like a slow, enveloping mist, which blots out the real world, and leaves us unchilled by any "airs from heaven or blasts from hell," but in the native air of some middle region. In these two or three brief hours of his power out of a lifetime, Coleridge is literally a wizard. People have wanted to know what "Christabel" means, and how it was to have ended, and whether Geraldine was a vampire (as I am inclined to think) or had eyes in her breasts (as Shelley thought). They have wondered that a poem so transparent in every line should be, as a whole, the most enigmatical in English. But does it matter very much whether "Christabel" means this or that, and whether Coleridge himself knew, as he said, how it was to end, or whether, as Wordsworth declared, he had never decided? It seems to me that Coleridge was fundamentally right when he said of the "Ancient Mariner", "It ought to have had no more moral than the Arabian Nights' tale of the merchant's sitting down to eat dates by the side of a well, and throwing the shells aside, and lo! a genie starts up, and says he *must* kill the aforesaid merchant, because one of the date-shells had, it seems, put out the eye of the genie's son." The "Ancient Mariner," if we take its moral meaning too seriously, comes near to being an allegory. "Christabel," as it stands, is a piece of pure witchcraft, needing no further explanation than the fact of its existence.

Rossetti called Coleridge the Turner of poets, and indeed there is in Coleridge an aërial glitter which we find in no other poet, and in Turner only among painters. With him color is always melted in atmosphere, which it shines through like fire within a crystal. It is liquid color, the dew on flowers, or a mist of rain in bright sunshine. His images are for the most part derived from water, sky, the changes of weather, shadows of things rather than things themselves, and usually mental reflections of them.

"A poet ought not to pick Nature's pocket," he said, and it is for color and sound, in their most delicate forms, that he goes to natural things. He hears

"the merry nightingale
That crowds and hurries and precipitates
With fast thick warble his delicious notes;"

and an ecstasy comes to him out of that natural music which is almost like that of his own imagination. Only music or strange effects of light can carry him swiftly enough out of himself, in the presence of visible or audible things, for that really poetic ecstasy. Then all his languor drops off from him, like a clogging garment.

The first personal merit which appears in his almost wholly valueless early work is a sense of color. In a poem written at twenty-one he sees Fancy—

"Bathed in rich amber-glowing floods of light,"
and next year the same color reappears, more expressively, in a cloud—

"wholly bright,
With a rich and amber light."

The two women in "The Two Graves," during a momentous pause are found discussing whether the rays of the sun are green or amber; a valley is

"Tinged yellow with the rich departing light;"
seen through corn at evening;

"The level sunshine glimmers with green light;"
and there is the carefully observed—

"western sky
And its peculiar tint of yellow green."

"The Ancient Mariner" is full of images of light and luminous color in sky and sea; Glycine's song in "Zapolya" is the most glittering poem in our language, with a soft glitter like that of light seen through water. And he is continually endeavoring, as later poets have done on a more deliberate theory, to suffuse sound with color or make colors literally a form of music; as in an early poem—

"Where melodies round honey-dropping flowers,
Footless and wild, like birds of Paradise,
Nor pause, nor perch, hovering on untamed wing."

With him, as with some of them, there is something pathological in this sensitiveness, and in a letter written in 1800 he says: "For the last month I have been trembling on through sands and swamps of evil and bodily grievance. My eyes have been inflamed to a degree that rendered reading scarcely possible; and, strange as it seems, the act of mere composition, as I

lay in bed, perceptibly affected them, and my voluntary ideas were every minute passing, more or less transformed into vivid spectra."

Side by side with this sensitiveness to color, or interfused with it, we find a similar, or perhaps a greater, sensitiveness to sound. Coleridge shows a greater sensitiveness to music than any English poet except Milton. The sonnet to Linley records his ecstatic responsiveness to music; Purcell's music, too, which he names with Palestrina's ("some madrigals which he heard at Rome") in the "Table-Talk." "I have the intensest delight in music," he says there, "and can detect good from bad"; a rare thing among poets. In one of his letters he notes: "I hear in my brain . . . sensations . . . of various degrees of pain, even to a strange sort of uneasy pleasure. . . . I hear in my brain, and still more in my stomach." There we get the morbid physical basis of a sensitiveness to music which came to mean much to him. In a note referring to "Christabel," and to the reasons why it had never been finished, he says: "I could write as good verse now as ever I did, if I were perfectly free from vexations, and were in the *ad libitum* hearing of fine music, which has a sensible effect in harmonizing my thoughts, and in animating and, as it were, lubricating my inventive faculty." "Christabel," more than anything of Coleridge, is composed like music; you might set at the side of each section, especially of the opening, *largo, vivacissimo*, and, as the general expression signature, *tempo rubato*. I know no other verse in which the effects of music are so precisely copied in metre. Shelley, you feel, sings like a bird; Blake, like a child or an angel; but Coleridge certainly writes music.

The metre of the "Ancient Mariner" is a re-reading of the familiar ballad-metre, in which nothing of the original force, swiftness or directness is lost, while a new subtlety, a wholly new music, has come into it. The metre of "Christabel" is even more of an invention, and it had more immediate consequences. The poem was begun in 1797, and not published till 1816; but in 1801 Scott heard it recited, and in 1805, reproduced what he could of it in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" and the other metrical romances which, in their turn, led the way to Byron, who himself heard "Christabel" recited in 1811. But the secret of Coleridge's instinct of melody and science of harmony was not discovered. Such ecstasy and such collectedness, a way of writing which seems to aim at nothing but the most precisely expressive simplicity, and yet sets the whole brain dancing to its tune, can hardly be indicated more exactly than in Coleridge's own words in reference to the Italian lyrists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They attained their aim, he says, "by the avoidance of every word which a gentleman would not use in dignified conversation, and of every word and phrase which none but a learned man would use; by the studied position of words

and phrases, so that not only each part should be melodious in itself, but contribute to the harmony of the whole, each note referring and conducting to the melody of all the foregoing and following words of the same period or stanza; and, lastly, with equal labor, the greater because unbetrayed, by the variation and various harmonies of their metrical movement." These qualities we may indeed find in many of Coleridge's songs, part Elizabethan, part eighteenth century, in some of his infantile jingles, his exuberant comic verse (in which, however, there are many words "which a gentleman would not use") and in a poem like "Love," which has suffered as much indiscriminate praise as Raphael's Madonnas, which it resembles in technique and sentiment, and in its exquisite perfection of commonplace, its *tour de force* of an almost flawless girlishness. But in "Christabel" the technique has an incomparable substance to work upon; substance at once simple and abnormal, which Coleridge required, in order to be at his best.

It has been pointed out by the profoundest poetical critic of our time that the perfection of Coleridge's style in poetry comes from an equal balance of the clear, somewhat matter-of-fact qualities of the eighteenth century with the remote, imaginative qualities of the nineteenth century. "To please me," said Coleridge in "Table-Talk," "a poem must be either music or sense." The eighteenth-century manner, with its sense only just coupled with a kind of tame and wingless music, may be seen quite by itself in the early song from "Robespierre":

"Tell me, on what holy ground
May domestic peace be found."

Here there is both matter and manner, of a kind; in "The Kiss" of the same year, with its one exquisite line,

"The gentle violence of joy."

there is only the liquid glitter of manner. We get the ultimate union of eighteenth and nineteenth century qualities in "Work without Hope," and in "Youth and Age," which took nine years to bring into its faultless ultimate form. There is always a tendency in Coleridge to fall back on the eighteenth-century manner, with its scrupulous exterior neatness, and its comfortable sense of something definite said definitely, whenever the double inspiration flags, and matter and manner do not come together. "I cannot write without a *body of thought*," he said at a time before he had found himself or his style; and he added: "Hence my poetry is crowded and sweats beneath a heavy burden of ideas and imagery! It has seldom ease." It was an unparalleled ease in the conveying of a "body of thought" that he was finally to attain, beyond most other poets. In "Youth and Age," think how much is actually said, and with a brevity impossible in prose;

things, too, far from easy for poetry to say gracefully, such as the image of the steamer, or the frank reference to "this altered size"; and then see with what an art, as of the very breathing of syllables, it passes into the most flowing of lyric forms. Besides these few miracles of his later years, there are many poems, such as the Flaxman group of "Love, Hope, and Patience supporting Education," in which we get all that can be poetic in the epigram softened by imagination, all that can be given by an ecstatic plain thinking. The rarest magic has gone, and he knows it; philosophy remains, and out of that resisting material he is able, now and again, to weave, in his deftest manner, a few garlands.

HERBERT SPENCER AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF EVOLUTION

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SINCE Spencer's death, there already have appeared many reviews and estimates of his life-work. Their number is likely soon to be increased by the reading of his *Autobiography*, which we now have in our hands. The new perspective in which this work enables us to see our philosopher is a sufficient justification for many attempts afresh to sum up and to characterize what he did for philosophical inquiry, and what his influence meant. Features of Spencer's activity which we have heretofore been obliged to view as it were from a distance, and to know only through the necessarily inadequate reports of his personal friends and disciples, are now brought near to us, and are exhibited in the decidedly clear light of his own deliberate and wholesomely straightforward confession. What, then, is the consequence of reconsidering the ideals and the methods of Spencer's philosophy in the light of his autobiography? To this question the following paper is an attempted, and admittedly partial, contribution.

Spencer's life-work is a part of a very large historical movement. For the sake, therefore, of giving the whole discussion its due setting, I shall begin with a few comments upon the general history and meaning of the concept of Evolution. I shall then review what the *Autobiography* tells us about the origin and significance of Spencer's own view of Evolution. Thirdly, I shall attempt a sketch of this view itself in its finished form. Fourthly, I shall close with some critical observations upon the significance of Spencer's work as a thinker.

I.—SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF EVOLUTION

The names, Theory of Evolution, Philosophy of Evolution, Darwinianism, and, less frequently, Spencerianism, have now entered into general literature as denoting (in the minds of various people who use them) a decidedly variable collection of doctrines, all of which have to do with the growth, or, in general, with the natural origin of things. The doctrines in question either have actually originated during the nineteenth century, or else have been restored to a former prominence in the course of that period. If, as is very frequently the case, a biologist uses any of the terms in question, he is likely to confine their meaning, in the special discussion in which he chances to be engaged, to doctrines that have directly, and perhaps exclusively, to do with the origin of various animals or plants from earlier living forms, through a gradual and natural transformation. If a

sociologist or historian employs such a term, he may give it a special reference to the doctrine of the animal descent of man, or he may merely be referring to theories regarding the origin or growth of languages, institutions, or civilizations. If a philosopher or theologian speaks of a theory of evolution, he may, on the contrary, include doctrines which refer to the entire process of the knowable universe, or at least to some aspect of that entire process. In Spencer's own usage the term "Evolution" was a name for *one of two* processes which together, according to him, comprise the "whole range of natural" events, so far as these can become known to us. These processes are for Spencer Evolution and Dissolution.

Since, by a doctrine of evolution, one who uses that word may thus refer to very inclusive and, on the other hand, to decidedly special theories, there is a good deal of confusion and a variety of results regarding what is meant by an "evolutionist." An evolutionist, in the minds of some people, means simply a man who leaves God out of account in trying to explain the origin of things, substituting natural agencies for creative acts. In the usage of others, stress is laid upon the notion that the "law of evolution" is supposed somehow to guarantee the triumph, in the long run, of whatever makes for "progress," so that an evolutionist shall be one who believes that Nature tends towards the constantly increasing perfection of the world, or at least of man. For still others, amongst whom are not a few liberal theologians, an evolutionist may be a theist, who holds that gradual processes of evolution constitute God's method of creation. A more technically limited usage defines an evolutionist as one who systematically uses the history of things as a means for explaining, or estimating, their nature and value. In this sense an evolutionist is one who, for instance, if he is a philologist, attempts to throw light on the grammar or on the etymology of a language by means of a comparative study of the evolution of the group of languages to which it belongs; or who, if he is a moralist, uses a theory of the origin of conscience to explain and to define the authority of conscience. And, finally, the term evolutionist may be limited in its application, as before indicated, so as to refer to one who holds opinions regarding the evolution of some single class of natural objects, such as stellar and solar systems, or animals, or social institutions.

Thus it becomes frequently uncertain what is implied by any particular usage of the term evolutionist; and the popular mind is frequently confused by the mistakes made. Nevertheless, it is true that the various tendencies to which the name is applied actually have a good deal in common. And one reason why it is hard to agree upon any terminology whereby the various sorts of opinion in question can be kept apart, lies in the fact that the tendency to believe that things in general have been subject to some sort of

evolution, is one of the oldest of human tendencies. The origin of the philosophical doctrine of evolution is lost in a remote antiquity. In some sense, such as is still frequently attached to the word, the early Greek philosophers of Nature were all of them evolutionists. The denial of evolution, or the definite subordination of the processes of growth to some other type of supposed realities, is, in philosophy, rather the later result of certain theoretical or theological considerations, than the earlier prejudice of the philosophers. The first philosophical attempts to explain things take naturally the form of evolutionary speculations. In giving a very new definiteness and a great wealth of novel detail to such speculations, the philosophy of the nineteenth century simply carried to a higher stage tendencies which had resulted from the most elementary forms of the scientific interest in the universe. As this view of the historical place of the concept of evolution in the history of human thought is popularly somewhat neglected, we must dwell upon the matter for a moment.

Man's speculations as to the origin of things take their earliest known form in those "creation-stories" which are found in so many primitive religions. The "creation-stories" are themselves often, in part, mythical accounts, not only of various creative and inventive feats of deities and demi-gods, but also of quasi-evolutionary processes,—that is, of processes conceived after the analogy of known natural processes of generation and growth. A creation-story is usually also a genealogy. Unexpected growths, and more or less magical, *i.e.*, in the primitive sense, physical processes, aid or thwart the deeds of creators; and only upon decidedly higher levels of religious thought do there appear gods powerful enough to create some whole order of things by their own directly exerted fiat. Even they may be thwarted here and there by the rebellion of their creatures, or by the devices of rival gods; so that it is hard to devise a theology which shall reduce everything to the result of one creative will. Something that has a nature of its own usually stands over against the mythical creator, as the material which he "fashions," as the chance which limits him, or as the enemy who uses more or less magical devices to baffle him.

Even primitive mythology thus prepares the way for an evolutionary fashion of thinking in which orderly processes take the place of fiats. Such a fashion of thought gets free as soon as philosophy fairly begins. Hindoo thought contains a good deal of evolutionary speculation. But Greek thought, in the pre-Socratic period, begins the very process of which our latest evolutionary thinking is the legitimate outcome,—an outcome determined, indeed, by a vast increase of a knowledge of nature, but impossible without the persistent use of certain leading ideas which the Greeks already possessed, and which we still employ in a way by no means wholly unlike

their own. We have no place here for any account of Greek opinion in the first period of ancient philosophy; but we may lay stress upon two or three leading ideas which belonged to the pre-Socratic age, and which have been potent even in the latest evolutionary speculation.

The first is the idea that Nature is a region where mutually opposed processes, in the long run, balance each other, producing as their combined result a vast circuit or cycle of changes, whereof all special processes of growth and decay are incidents. This leading idea (since often represented in popular thought, side by side with ideas that have resulted from later and higher grades of human knowledge), is obviously suggested by a comparatively crude induction which the early Greek thinkers soon rather hastily universalized, so as to apply it to all things. Night follows day, and day night; the seasons alternate; the changes of the weather, the periodic sequences of periods of drought and of rain, the ebb and flow of prosperity, suggest what our modern moralizing or weather-wise countryman still summarizes by various proverbs about the compensations of Nature, such as: "It is a long lane that has no turn," or: "What goes up must come down." In brief, Nature alternates between opposite tendencies. The early Greek cosmogonist generalizes from such processes. They indicate how the whole of Nature has been formed and will pass away,—doubtless to be renewed again in distant ages. From the "Boundless" of Anaximander, certain "opposites" differentiate; these, combining and recombining, lead to the complex world that now we see. But all these things will pass back again into the Boundless, "paying the penalty of the injustice" of their separate existence. "The way up" and "the way down," are the two opposed roads that the fire-stuff of Heraklitos follows, as it takes on the transient form now of this, now of that thing. It is governed,—this living fire-stuff,—by "measures." Nothing, therefore, is really gained or lost when new things arise, or when former things vanish. Something, vaguely conceived as "justly" invariant, persists, not as a fixed thing, but as a "measure," all through the process of natural change. It is as when one ware is "exchanged" for another; force is the fire-stuff "exchanged" for all things, and they in turn for it. Fixed law governs the whole process of this evolutionary exchange, whereby everything is generated, and in its turn is dissolved. There is no special creation about the process. It is an evolution. Later cosmogonists give us other accounts of the moving principle that determines the evolution or the dissolution of things; but the general notion that a vast rhythm of growth and decay, or of "mingling" and "sundering," of "thickening" and "thinning," or of some such opposed processes, determines the evolution of things, as well as their passing away, and the equally prominent notion that this rhythm is subject to regular law

of some sort, these soon become prominent ideas of early Greek physical speculation.

The second leading idea here in question is, that the evolution of mind, that is, of the souls of men and of animals, is an incident of this general process, and is governed by whatever laws determine the evolutionary process viewed as a whole. The early Greek physicist is unquestionably under the influence of primitive animism to such an extent that he conceives Nature as in some sense alive through and through. But, unlike the savage, he does not look to gods, or to spirits, or to other capriciously interfering wills, to explain the origin of anything in the natural world. Nature is a realm where a power, or where perhaps (as in case of the doctrine of Empedokles) two opposed powers, shall determine in a regular way, and in accordance with pervasive law, the whole process of evolution. This determining power (or possibly pair of powers) is at once a material power, and also more or less alive. It is "divine," "wise," "intelligent," or something of the sort. But it is also uniform, impersonal, and inseparable from its own expression in the course of the physical world. It is distinctly "Nature," and not any god or demon ruling over Nature from without, or interfering with Nature. It takes form equally in our bodies and in our soul-life. All Nature is thus an evolution, or a dissolution, of the embodiments of this power. And our own souls arise in a natural way in the course of this universal process.

A third leading idea, due to the fact that Greek philosophy grew up, so to speak, upon the seashore, is that the origin of life from the sea, or from "slime," or from some close connection between the processes which connect land, sea, and air, must be viewed as a central fact of importance for the comprehension of this whole evolutionary story. This idea of the origin of the organic from the inorganic appears in different degrees of prominence in different philosophies, and is of a somewhat secondary importance. But it survives in subsequent speculation. Nor was it a mere guess. It was due to a genuine, even if very crude, observation of Nature.

In later Greek philosophy, the conceptions of evolution and dissolution, while retaining a significant place in the greater systems of ancient thought, became somewhat subordinate, and sometimes obscured, by the predominance of other speculative interests. One notion which tended, by comparison, to render both evolution and dissolution less important for a philosopher's survey of the universe, was a leading philosophical idea very different from the "special creation" which the nineteenth-century evolutionist generally regards as his principal enemy. This was not the idea of any lawlessness or capriciousness of things, or of the prevalence of any miraculous interferences with the course of Nature, but rather the idea of the Eternity, and

so, very frequently, of the temporal permanence, not only of the universe, but of all the greater distinctions *within* the universe,—an idea which, in the form of the doctrine of the “permanence of species,” did indeed directly oppose itself, in the last century, to Darwinism. This special idea of the permanence of species had long since been united, by Christian theology, with the conception of a special creation whereby all the permanent species had been initiated. But, in its more articulate forms, the idea of the permanence of the specific forms or “natures” of things came into later philosophy not at all as a corollary of the idea of a “special creation,” but rather through the influence of Plato and Aristotle. And so this leading idea of later Greek philosophy was a part only of the general conception that the world, together with all of its most rationally significant features, is eternal. Plato’s world contained a realm of flux, which, so far as it was flux, was evil and untrue, and a realm of eternal ideas, which were both true and good, and which were accordingly above all change. Aristotle did indeed lay great stress upon the evolution everywhere present in the sublunary region of “genesis and corruption.” But in this region it was each individual thing which grows and then passes away. The “forms” which are responsible for the evolution of individuals are as eternal as the Platonic ideas. They therefore do not evolve. Plotinus conceived an universe which might indeed be called, in one sense, an “emanation” from its eternal first principle. But this emanation is not a temporal process. It has always taken place, in a series of descending grades of perfection, which temporally appear side by side. Only individual things, and souls, go through processes of growth or of progress, of decay or of falling away from perfection. In the universe, viewed as a whole, all the main distinctions are everlasting.

This conception of the *eternity of the forms of things* is, historically considered, by far the most significant opponent that the philosophical doctrine of evolution ever has had or ever can have. It is primarily the expression, not of primitive superstition, nor yet of a theistic bias, but of a very highly developed conception of things which tends in itself rather towards pantheism than towards creationism. This doctrine of the eternity of the forms was suggested to the philosophical mind by *three* different leading interests:—(1) An interest in astronomy; (2) an interest in logic and in mathematics; (3) an interest in the permanent significance of ethical truth. As to the first of these interests (ancient in origin, obvious in Plato, and still more pronounced in Aristotle) it had led early astronomers to a long-continued observation of the heavens, and to an impression that *there*, at least, all (except the fact of the motion of the various heavenly bodies), was eternally changeless, while the movements in question were themselves regularly repeated, and of invariable type. The second of these interests was

rendered impressive by the whole development of early Greek arithmetic and geometry, and by the Socratic and still more by the Platonic and Aristotelian studies of the nature of logical truth. The third interest, prominent, but undeveloped, in Socrates, reached a classic perfection of expression in Plato, and has ever since deeply influenced the course of human thought. It was one form of the concern in what Emerson has called "the sovereignty of ethics."

The result of these three interests was that the evolutionary aspect of the universe went into the background, *although never disappearing*, in later Greek speculation. Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, all gave attention to the growth and to the decay of individual things, and to the laws of individual or of social progress and degeneration; but for them the universe, taken in its wholeness, could not, in view of the just-mentioned reasons, be conceived in terms of all-embracing evolutionary formulas. Both the Stoics and the Epicureans, returning in part to earlier forms of physical speculation, made the evolutionary aspect of the universe more prominent than did the systems just mentioned; but they, too, subordinated evolution to other aspects of the universe; for they were, above all, ethical philosophers.

Christian theology, uniting, as it did, Platonic and Aristotelian conceptions with the Theism of the prophets of Israel, and of their Jewish successors, was led to a sort of theological compromise which long remained classic. A conception of an initial special creation,—a conception due to Old Testament traditions,—was brought into a sort of synthesis with the Hellenic doctrine of the eternity of the "natures" or "forms" of things. An "order of Nature," occasionally interfered with by miracle, and supplemented by the unceasing creation of new human souls, consequently took the place of the older Greek philosophical conception, but still made the latter predominant in the explanation of all natural truth. The evolutionary aspect of things was thus, indeed, by reason of the creationism of the creed, placed still farther in the background; although more or less heretical revivals of evolutionary ideas of the foretime were present amongst the opinions that the Christian theologian from time to time had to encounter in controversy.

Modern philosophy, breaking away indeed, in the seventeenth century, from the regular course of theological tradition, was still, at the outset, under influences which gave it comparatively little opportunity to pay renewed attention to the evolutionary aspect of things. Amongst these influences to which modern philosophy was at first subject, was that of the physical sciences, as they developed from Galileo to Newton. Modern science, in this its first great movement, did not contribute to an interest in the growth of things, nor promise to throw much new light upon origins. For

just as the ancient astronomy had seemed to prove the eternity of the heavenly spheres, so the new astronomy, despite the enormous alteration in the conceptions of the physical world which it so quickly produced, gave in a new form the impression to the philosophers that the permanence of the celestial system, and in fact of the whole mechanical order of Nature, is much more important than is any process of an evolutionary sort that seems to take place in the realm of Nature, whether celestial or terrestrial. The typical seventeenth-century philosophers, despite their occasional evolutionary speculations, conceived the world as a whole, and the living organisms in particular, as complex machines. Such views, indeed, logically involved the conception that these machines, in so far as they had a beginning at all, must have had a purely natural origin, and this logical necessity is variously recognized; but is left as a subordinate fact. The highly synthetic doctrine of Leibnitz, in its great effort to unify the organic and the mechanical aspects of Nature, found a place for a sort of evolution, whereby special organic unities could have been developed. But the Leibnitzian metaphysical conceptions remained too remote from phenomenally verifiable processes to make possible any articulate conception of organic evolution. And so, once more, during not only the seventeenth, but the early part of the eighteenth century, there was illustrated the notable truth, so much overlooked by modern evolutionists of the Spencerian type,—the truth that the great historical enemy of the evolutionary interest in philosophy has been,—not “supernaturalism,” nor yet the doctrine of “special creation,” but *the tendency to conceive the universe as an eternal, and so, temporally viewed, as an essentially permanent order*, whose laws may be studied, and whose events often include what we call growth, but whose main outlines, classifications, processes, forms are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; so that the story of the origins of things, even when true, is of secondary import. Astronomy, mechanical science, mathematics, logic, ethics, all furnish motives which, justly or unjustly, have led men to emphasize this view of things. Accordingly, *when- ever these motives are predominant in special science and in philosophy, evolution is likely to be subordinated, overlooked, or denied*. Otherwise, however, evolutionary views are ancient and natural results of a study of Nature.

Not until the end of the eighteenth century, after a new Humanism had taken possession of the historical movement of life and of thought, did the time recur for making evolutionary concepts, of one sort or another, philosophically important. In order to narrate the tale of the rise of the evolutionary, or as one may (for the age in question) call it, the historical movement, one would have to recount the annals of the growth of Romanticism, to describe the movement of post-Kantian Idealism, and also to give

an account of the revival and of the rapid progress of the organic sciences, and of historical scholarship, in the whole period between 1770 and 1830. Suffice it here to say that, in the years in question, in German, and, to some extent, in French thought, the centre of scientific and philosophical interest was shifted, at first slowly, then rapidly, from a primary concern for the relatively mechanical explanation of Nature, to an intense devotion to a following of the growth of things. It is true that this shifting of interest did not obscure, in the minds of those who were interested in the more exact physical sciences, the belief that whatever historically happens in the natural world is also subject to definable, necessary, and, in some sense, mechanical laws. The trains of thought which led to the modern doctrine of energy, and which express themselves in Spencer's own conception of the Persistence of Force, are of the general logical type which was predominant in the thought of the seventeenth century. But nineteenth-century thought is not, as a whole, one-sided. It declines to ignore the mechanical aspect of things for the sake of emphasizing its interest in history. Yet, as a fact, it is still more intensely interested in the historical aspect of things than it is in their permanent nature. It is the century of the organic and humane sciences; and to these, despite the vast advances of physics, chemistry, and mathematics, the interest of the nineteenth century subordinates the unchanging, the eternal, the unhistorical aspect of Nature. The nineteenth century fully recognizes the latter; but this aspect of reality cannot hide from its view the significance of evolution. Geology, embryology, comparative philology, the history of religion, of social institutions, of art, of politics, anthropological research, sociological generalization,—these are the great new achievements of nineteenth-century science. The general doctrine of evolution, in its recent forms, is merely the culmination and natural outgrowth of these combined and affiliated types of research. The great battle for the recognition of the evolutionary aspect of things was already fought and won, in principle, before 1830. The traditional theological creationism of Christian doctrine was certain sooner or later to give way before the interests of a scientific and philosophical movement which had already added to the fabled word of Galileo: "And yet it *does* move," the further watchword,—a counter-assertion to the doctrine of a rigid and eternal mechanical order: "And yet it *does* grow." The problem of modern philosophy was thus the reconciliation of real evolution with real mechanism (since the nineteenth century believed in both), rather than the task of overcoming the theological doctrine of "special creation." The theologians, to be sure, were long unaware of the meaning of the new tendencies. The general public also had to be instructed. A Darwin was needed to show the naturalists how to bring their own long-since pronounced

evolutionary tendencies to a focus. There was and still is room for many men such as Spencer to throw light upon the synthesis which the new age needed. But the hindrance which had prevented the philosophy of the seventeenth century from reviving, in full force, early Greek evolutionism, was *not* Christian theology (which that philosophy already treated with becoming independence), but was the predominance of the mathematical and mechanical conceptions in the natural sciences of that earlier time, and the consequent absence of an interest in the growth of things. This hindrance lost its main force when the philosophy of the Romantic Period, and the revival of the historical and organic sciences after 1815, insured henceforth due attention to the evidences of evolution. From that time on, the process was an inevitable one, which the various natural sciences had only to apply in their special realms, and which theologians were bound to follow, like the rest of mankind, whenever their own time was ripe. "Special creation," viewed as a positive dogma, was quite as much discredited by the spirit of the philosophy of the seventeenth century as it could be by our own. Yet evolution could not take its place in philosophy until the time had come for recognizing the historical aspect of things.

So much for a few words by way of correcting a false perspective in which the history of the idea of evolution is still popularly viewed. As a fact, crude inductions in the infancy of science began already to point towards the later doctrine. And the tendency to exclude the miraculous from science is precisely as old as is Greek philosophy itself. Nor were even the early Greek forms of the doctrine of evolution mere guesses, as some writers still like to represent. They were hasty, but, for their time, very sane, and by no means wholly unjustified, results of the early observation of Nature. They already included; (1) The notion that the evolutionary processes are differentiations, whereby variety grows out of seeming simplicity; (2) The further notion that our souls have the same sort of natural genesis that our bodies have; (3) The idea that the whole evolutionary process is due to a single law, or pair of laws, and not to special creations; (4) The conception that life originates from the inorganic (from "earth," from the sea, from "slime," etc.); and (5) The thesis that there is, in the universe at large, a rhythm of evolution and dissolution, which is also connected with a rhythm of "thickening" and "thinning," of "cooling" and "heating," or of other processes; that is, with a rhythm of the general type of the "integration" and "disintegration" of which we have later heard so much. And it was a keen if crude watching of natural things which made all these ideas plausible to the early Greek philosophers.

For the rest, the historical motives which so long delayed the transformation of these first crude inductions into higher scientific shapes, were

by no means solely either theological or anti-scientific. They had to do with extremely important and rational motives, both of science and of philosophy,—motives which emphasized the need of a recognition of the more permanent aspects, both of Nature and of universal law. Thinkers were thus long held back from learning more about evolution, not merely by the survival in culture of a belief in miraculous creations, but still more by the growth, in their own leading minds, of an interest in mathematics, in ethics, and in the very permanence of natural law itself. Truth of the unchanging types thus often obscured, in men's thoughts, truth of an historical nature. Thus the delay of the recognition of evolution by Science and by Philosophy, was merely an incident of an inevitable one-sidedness of human thinking; but this one-sidedness was in no wise unwholesome, and was due to an over-emphasis of motives that were, in part, both philosophic and scientific.

II.

In the England in which Herbert Spencer grew up, it was, nevertheless, the case that, in the period of his boyhood and youth, all these evolutionary tendencies were indeed remote enough from the minds of the popularly well-known thinkers. For the movement of the Romantic philosophy was hardly known in Great Britain; the Continental revival of historical scholarship had as yet but little affected the leading tendencies of English learning; the conservatism and caution of British scientific men, as well as the decidedly settled theological traditions of the country, alike served for years to keep the "development theory," so far as it was discussed at all, far in the background. In contributing so largely to the growth of the new science of geology, British research was indeed laying a most important part of the foundations for the coming evolutionary conceptions of the latter half of the century; but the meaning of this movement in geological research was still unrecognized. It was true of Great Britain, therefore, that a public acknowledgment of the significance of evolutionary ideas was still a long way from the focus of attention; and it was also true that the influence of a conservative theology was here far more potent in discouraging independent philosophical inquiry than was the case in Germany. It is not surprising, therefore, that, when Spencer ultimately came to consciousness regarding his own doctrines (ignorant as he always remained of their historical relationships), he should henceforth regard the revival of evolutionary conceptions as more of a break with philosophical traditions than it actually was. He, at least, was extraordinarily innocent regarding every sort of nexus between his own philosophy and that of any remote period or foreign country. His processes were, for his consciousness, his own. Honest as the day in acknowledging every indebtedness that he ever observed,

he never learned how to regard human philosophical thought itself as an evolutionary process, in which his own thinking had an organic place. Hence, as soon as we come to consider his own development, we have, like himself, to break for the time with tradition, and to consider him in all the very striking independence of his character, in all the unconventionality of his training. This is what he has now enabled us to do by means of his *Autobiography*.

The incidents of this narrative will attract, no doubt, their full share of attention, and will soon become familiar to many readers. Our concern is here more with the general type of the man, and with the way in which he so gradually and reasonably grew into his subsequent doctrine. The *Autobiography* shows us a life free from most of the great crises through which men of ability and sensitiveness are usually found to have passed. No romance made his youth stormy; no religious period had to be lived out; no great worldly ambition had to be disappointed. Always of slender means, he was never abjectly poor. Forced to earn his living, he was never long bound to any uncongenial work. Eccentric, he was never despised. Independent, and prone, as he says, to indiscreet criticism of his official superiors, so long as he had such, he still cherished no personal grudges, and had little or no consciousness of ever actually quarreling with anybody. Moreover, he deliberately abandoned good worldly chances which men who recognized his ability were glad to offer him. Wholly unwilling, and unable, to win favor by flattery or by social conformity, he made apparently few or no enemies, and cemented a few very lasting and loyal friendships, which, for him, were enough. Critical of all men, he was never bitter, except occasionally in controversy; and there his obvious love of truth usually made his sharpness of speech tolerable. Asking for no sympathy, he in the long run obtained a great deal of sympathy from those who valued him. With none of the arts of the party-leader, he won, in time, a little band of disciples whose devotion was, as we all know, wonderful, and whose fidelity took, upon occasion, very definite material forms. A confirmed bachelor, he was not only fond of children, but respected their independence, and treated them so as to show his respect. Devoid of romantic sentiments, he was capable of a very noble type of friendships with congenial women. A very elaborate, and in his own way a very technical thinker, and a friend of some of the greatest minds of his time, he also remained fond, in private life, of the company of some decidedly thoughtless people. Reserving his best for a Huxley or a George Eliot, he still was a good companion of plain folk. A propagandist, he still despised every ordinary device for winning public favor. Patient in his toil so long as the public neglected him, he declined all sorts of worldly honor when they came to

recognize him. In brief, his personal and worldly relationships were of a very high order of moral straightforwardness.

The great misfortune of his life was his nervous invalidism. This, of which he had in early manhood some warnings, became decidedly important in 1854, at the age of thirty-four, and thenceforth, with various intermissions, and with periods of greatly increased severity, remained his companion to the end. Its origin was, as his carefully narrated family history shows, partly due to his inherited nervous constitution—a sensitive and irritable one. On the other hand, even without any disposition to lay undue stress upon the recently over-emphasized theory which regards the nervous troubles of a vast number of literary men as mainly due to the indirect effect of eye-strain, no reader of Spencer's account who is accustomed to the ordinary complaints of nervous students, can fail to suspect that some sort of eye-defect played probably, almost unrecognized by Spencer, a very considerable part in his history of invalidism. In his earlier descriptions of his symptoms, the association of his "head-sensations," and of his subsequent insomnia, with reading "even for a few minutes," and the fact that, very early in his experience of defect, he found that he could often dictate without great confusion of head when he was unable to read or to write,—these are phenomena of a sort which we nowadays regard as *prima-facie* evidence that a man had better consult his oculist before becoming any more expert in mysterious head-symptoms. Spencer himself, however, seems to have invented explanations of his troubles mainly in terms of the peculiar states which he attributed to his cerebral circulation; and in the long run he plainly decided upon his devices for self-treatment and regimen with characteristic indifference to the advice of anybody else. His accounts of the later phases of his disorder, in his middle life and old age, show the usual marks of the man expert in a round of symptoms, and in a hypochondriacal mode of attributing to them more significance than they probably have. If Spencer could only have viewed them in another light, they might have proved much more manageable. In any case, this nervous history is interestingly free, despite the long-continued periods of incapacity which it often included, from the so frequent tale of deeper emotional and intellectual disturbance which most nervous students have to tell. Whatever the malady was, it left Spencer's essential moral personality remarkably unscathed and his associative processes relatively intact. It gave a certain dreary formality to his literary style, but did not injure his clearness and self-control of expression. It gave him no periods of deeper despair of which he thinks it at all worth while to tell. In the beautifully frank summary and estimate of the worth of his life, in his closing "Reflections," he plainly tries to say both the best and the worst that, as he thinks can fairly be said,

from a personal point of view, regarding the value to himself of the life which he has passed. And his worst is indeed not very bad. The principal moral consequence of his malady which he confesses was a frequently uncontrollable but very simply expressed irritability; so that, perhaps, he occasionally swore at a mishap in fishing, or otherwise gave way to some outburst which his early training and his intellectual habits alike made, in his own eyes, foolish. Such reflexes of the moment were associated with a certain chronic captiousness in his judgments of people, art, etc., and with a good many invalid eccentricities of conduct. Amongst these were the already famous ear-coverings whereby he used to escape from wearing conversations. In all his reflections on life in the *Autobiography*, Spencer is also fond of emphasizing the uncontrollable character of the emotions, in a way that partly depends upon his experience as an invalid. Nevertheless, even at his worst he strikes the reader as a man of uncommon freedom from uncontrollable emotions of a deeper sort; and one who reads, even between the lines, must be convinced that Spencer was spared a very great deal of what the nervous invalid of a highly intellectual type generally suffers. In his worst seasons Spencer had a good deal of aversion to meeting company, and found the delivery of anything like a public address usually intolerable during all his later years. He has also a little to say about certain very well-known experiences of "double consciousness," but fears, pessimism, an altered view of life, any genuine losing of touch with himself, any deeper loss of control over his associative processes, and many other of the usual complaints of the nervous student,—these are all notably absent. The whole story suggests a very stubborn, and doubtless in part constitutional, and so incurable, defect, but one that, after all, was much more superficial in its significance than he himself supposed. Upon his work it further reacted by increasing his impenetrable isolation from all trains and modes of thought that did not directly interest him. Since he could read so little, why try to understand books that could not instruct him? Since his nerve-centres were so ill supplied, as he assumed, with the needed blood, why exhaust them by opening his mind to ideas that were foreign to his own? His "ear-stoppers" thus remain typical of his persistent closing of his mind to all considerations which did not either support his predetermined theories, or else help him occasionally to reassert himself in vigorous polemic.

Apart from his invalidism, Spencer (as appears from his letters to his father and to his friends, and in his own story) early showed traits which remain throughout, at every stage of his career, very unchanging. Free from all the ordinary emotional excesses of weaker men, free, also, from vehement personal affections, yet kindly disposed, passively benevolent, and in this sense humane, he was most of all characterized not by his sentiments,

but by his ways of thinking and modes of action. An unaggressive but unconquerable stubbornness of opinion forbade him to acquire ideas by any method but his own. He inquired keenly, and into a very great variety of subjects. Yet what is usually meant by great breadth of mind is not to be asserted of him. For he could adapt his thoughts to no mental undertaking which he himself had not first predetermined; and his understanding of other people's intellectual interests was always of the slightest degree that was possible in so well-informed a man. In action he was cool and deliberate; but any plan which he had once determined upon dominated him as a sort of calm and passionless obsession. Thus when, in middle life, he had once resolved to see the eruption of Vesuvius without the aid of the guides (whose fees offended him), the dangers of hot lava had no importance for him, until he had passed through and seen what he came to see. In youth, therefore, so long as he looked to other men for employment, he changed his employers frequently, and seemed a "rolling-stone." But so soon as he made up his mind to produce his system, nothing could thenceforth distract him from the single great task. In his engineering years he was mechanically ingenious, and he records a considerable list of inventions. He solved mathematical problems and discovered a geometrical theorem of some importance, but never went far in mathematics. He made natural-history collections, but never became a naturalist. He performed physical experiments, but was no thorough-going physicist. He paused at the edge of political activities, but avoided public life. He records that he never puzzled over his problems. His intellectual processes, so far as his invalidism left them free, were automatic, pleasing, untroubled. At last they formed themselves into a systematic plan. The synthetic philosophy was the outcome of this plan.

Spencer records how each of the leading ideas of his system grew up in his mind. First came a love for tracing the causes of things, a love which early led him to the notion that Nature permits no miracles, that all processes of Nature are unbroken and continuous, and that all which is beyond the realm of discoverable law is altogether unknowable. Second came an assurance that, even as he himself was of an independent spirit, so *no* man's liberty ought to be hindered, so long as such a man did not interfere with his neighbor's liberty. Third came, slowly growing in his mind, the assurance that the "development theory" must account for living things, by means of a natural process, just as causation in general was needed to account for every other natural event and product. Next came the notion that, in particular, the life of the mind must be understood as a development, determined by natural causes, and connected with the development of all the phenomena of life. Finally came the conviction that a full and

coherent theory of Nature, in which the organic and inorganic worlds were united by the working of universal laws, not only would explain, so far as that was possible, the growth of things, but also would furnish a systematic and complete foundation for his own never-changing individualistic ethics, and for his sturdy, old-fashioned British liberalism. In this way, the main work of Spencer's life came to be an effort to bring into synthesis an organic theory of the unity of the evolutionary process, with a doctrine regarding the freedom and the rights of the individual which had come down to him from an age when evolution and the organic unity of things had indeed interested Englishmen but little. This particular synthesis of organic evolution with individual independence remains one of the most paradoxical and consequently most instructive, features of Spencer's teaching.

To go more into detail, this evolution of Spencer's own main ideas, as he carefully narrates the process, occurred somewhat as follows: In childhood, the idea of the supernatural was rapidly sent into the background of his mind by that search for causes which his father so constantly cultivated in him. Before he knew why, he had learned, quite without his father's intending this result, to disbelieve in miracles; and so, in early manhood, "the current creed and its associated story of creation," came, by insensible steps, to be abandoned. In consequence, a "belief in evolution at large" was soon "latent." For, as Spencer says: "The doctrine of the universality of natural causation has for its inevitable corollary the doctrine that the Universe and all things in it have reached their present forms through successive stages physically necessitated." This "latent" assurance first began to become explicit when, at twenty years of age, Spencer read Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. One of the chapters of Lyell was devoted to refuting Lamarck's theory of the origin of species; and this chapter, as Spencer tells us, "had the effect of giving me a decided leaning to" just such views. That is, as he tells us, Lyell's chapter brought to his consciousness, by contrast, what his own belief in the uniformity of Nature really implied as to the origin of organic forms.

Two years later, in 1842, when Spencer's political and ethical interests had led him to attempt a defence of the "tendency to carry individual freedom as far as possible," and when he consequently wrote a series of letters to the *Nonconformist* newspaper on "The Proper Sphere of Government," there was shown, in these letters, as he tells us, "an unhesitating belief that the phenomena of both individual life and social life conform to law." There was also expressed the view that the functions, the instincts, and the organs of any creature, whether animal, plant, or man, "are dependent upon the position in which the creature is placed." "Surround it," continues Spencer in one of these letters, speaking of any such creature, "with circum-

stances which preclude the necessity for any one of its faculties, and that faculty will become gradually impaired. . . . Place a tribe of animals in a situation where one of their attributes is unnecessary—take away its natural exercise,—diminish its activity, and you will gradually destroy its power. Successive generations will see the faculty, or instinct, or whatever it may be, become gradually weaker, and an ultimate degeneracy of the race will inevitably ensue. All this is true of Man.” This, then, was his early way of expressing himself. Spencer, at this time, accordingly read the lesson of such tendencies in the form of the assertion explicitly made in these letters, that man’s proper adaptation to his social functions will best occur if his relations to society are not artificially interfered with, and if he is not protected by the state from the necessity of exercising his individual powers, and of finding his own relatively “stable equilibrium” with his social world. Here, as Spencer points out, are already the germs of the whole later theory. A natural process of adaptation gradually determines the functions; and, in some greater or less measure, the structures, of living beings. This process is an instance of some all-pervasive system of physical law. It leads, if undisturbed, to certain conditions of stable equilibrium which in themselves tend to be good for the creature directly concerned. The social lesson is that the state ought not to interfere with this natural process of the evolution of the social individual.

In rewriting the discussions thus begun for his *Social Statics*, in 1850, Spencer recognized that alike in living organisms and in societies, “progress” is from conditions wherein “like parts” perform “like functions,” to conditions wherein “unlike parts” perform “unlike functions,”—in brief, that “in these cases progress is from the uniform to the multiform.” In the immediately subsequent years, the Milne-Edwards conception of “the physiological division of labor,” and Von Baer’s formula that the development of an organism is a change from “homogeneity of structure to heterogeneity of structure,” were both added to Spencer’s range of evolutionary conceptions. The ideas thus acquired were quickly generalized so as to receive application to the philosophy of literary style, to psychological phenomena generally, and to the evolution of social institutions. As Spencer proceeded, in 1854-1855, to the completion of the first edition of his *Psychology*, he was “suddenly led to the perception” that the advance “from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous is a universal trait of progress, inorganic, organic, and super-organic.” The “multiplication of effects,” and “the instability of the homogeneous” were, by 1857, both of them in his mind as the “causes” of this “universal transformation.” In 1858 he definitely opposed to the “process of evolution” that of “dissolution,” and regarded the rhythm of these processes as a mechanical necessity

to which all teleological interpretations of evolution must be subordinated. The conceptions of the transition from "the definite to the indefinite," and of the part which "integration" plays in evolution, gradually became clear to Spencer, partly during the course of the development of the *Psychology*, partly after the issue of the first edition of the *First Principles*. The *System of Synthetic Philosophy* was begun in 1860. The new conceptions which Darwin's *Origin of Species* furnished, in the course of the same year, were very generously welcomed and considered, but were rather too easily assimilated by Spencer to his own generalizations. And in 1864, at length, the final great step in the organization of Spencer's evolutionary theory was taken when he found "suddenly disclosed" "the truth that integration is a primary process and differentiation a secondary process; and that thus, while the formation of a coherent aggregate is the universal trait of Evolution, the increase of heterogeneity, necessarily subsequent, is but an almost universal trait; the one being unconditional and the other conditional." What was still further added, in 1867, related rather to a matter of detail.

One who reviews this process in its relation to the general history of the conception of evolution in recent times, is afresh impressed with the often observed fact that the centre of Spencer's philosophical interests always remained somewhat remote from the matters which mainly engaged either the popular or the scientific attention during the years when the evolutionary controversy was warmest. The popular readers of Darwin and of other evolutionists were usually most concerned with the questions: "Has there been any transformation of species at all?" "Is man descended from the lower animals?" "Is the human mind, or, again, conscience, or is religion, a purely natural product of evolution?" The scientific men who took part in the Darwinian controversy were also often interested in these more broadly speculative questions. But their own technical tasks led them to lay more emphasis, during the years since 1860, upon such questions as: "Has Darwin's (or any other) theory brought the origin or the transformation of species definitely within the range of legitimate scientific inquiry?" "Is Darwin's account, or (in later stages of the discussion) is some rival account of the factors to which the origin of species is due, probably a correct or an adequate one?" "Do the new theories aid us in formulating definite hypotheses that help us in other branches of special inquiry than those to which they have so far been applied?" What do we know about the ancestry of man?

Now, Spencer's philosophical interests had, as their main object, decidedly different topics from any of these. The just-mentioned questions of the more popular type never gave him serious concern, after

once his early years were passed. For that some natural process was responsible for the gradual development of living beings, and so of man, and of all mental and social phenomena, had appeared sure to him, as an inevitable result of the general belief in causation, already during the forties. It appeared sure to him for the same reasons that make some sort of evolution acceptable to the first philosophers of Greece. It was so far, for him, no result of scientific induction. It was simply a consequence of his now-settled habit of believing in the existence of a natural cause for everything. On the other hand, the more special Darwinian and anti-Darwinian arguments regarding the factors of organic evolution, much as they later interested him, never reached the first grade of importance in his mind. He contributed to such discussions, late in his career, some of the best of his shorter essays. But as a philosopher he was only by the way concerned with such things. He was rather busy, in the main, with the finding of a formula general enough to cover the whole range of evolutionary phenomena, and with proving that this formula correctly described the "cause" of evolution, so far as that cause is knowable at all. This "cause" is something much more general than is any one of the hypothetical special "factors of evolution." As a philosopher, Spencer is therefore most of all responsible for this general formula, and for undertaking to show that it applied to all sorts of evolutionary processes.

III.

And so we come, at length, in our account of Spencer, to an attempt at a restatement of the sense of Spencer's formula. Spencer's own peculiar vocabulary is as chronic an incident of his books as his head-symptoms were chronic incidents of his life. Let us try, for the moment, to use as far as we can our own words, while still stating, as faithfully as we may, his case. Our words may be not as good as his; but change is often restful.

In the world at large, matter and energy (so Spencer points out) are constantly passing from one configuration or arrangement to another. As this ceaselessly takes place, particular things,—suns, systems, planets, continents, forests, plants, animals, men, societies, mental states—appear and pass away. If now we try to look over the whole range of the vast process thus presented to us, we observe that what happens can be reduced, in its larger outlines, to *two* opposed special processes, which more or less rhythmically take each other's place in any given part of the world, according to the prevalent conditions that the relations of this part of the world to the rest determine. One of these processes occurs when bodies collect more closely together, cool, condense, contract, solidify, stiffen, harden, while the energy that they formerly contained is, in part (often in very great part),

lost, being spread out as radiant energy over vast spaces, or conducted away to other bodies. Wherever such processes of "integration" predominate, there occurs what we shall call evolution. The other process occurs when bodies get expanded, liquefied, vaporized, evaporated, scattered, sundered, widely distributed. This process, wherever it predominates, constitutes the primary feature of what we call dissolution. It can occur only when into a system of bodies energy is introduced (by radiation or otherwise) from other systems, or when collisions, or similar events, lead to distributions of energy which involve local heating, expansion, and the like. Our main attention is to be devoted to the one of these processes which is called evolution.

The gathering together, the condensation, the contraction, and the hardening, of masses of matter, may go on uncomplicated by other processes. So it is, for instance, when vapor condenses and falls in drops on a rainy day, or when an asteroid is formed (if one is so formed), by the condensation of a mass of cooling material of nebular origin. But sometimes, while this uncomplicated or "primary" process of evolution is going on, there also occur "secondary" processes, due to the fact that one part of the mass which as a whole grows denser, is not placed or influenced in the same way in which another part is placed or influenced. Thus, the outside of a cooling mass may have a crust form upon it, while the inside is still liquid; the crystals which form as an oversaturated solution cools, may gather at the bottom of a vessel, while the top remains clear liquid; and so on indefinitely. It is these "secondary" changes which are responsible for what we usually regard as the most important phenomena of evolution. That the secondary changes can become so important as they do become is due to the fact that, as masses of matter condense, they often form clumps which are in an intermediate state between the stage of absolute hardness or solidity on the one hand, and the state of an absolutely free internal mobility of the parts of the mass on the other hand. A somewhat viscous body is more or less plastic to changes which are impressed upon it. But, on the other hand, it is able to retain for some time the traces of such changes. Examples of "plastic bodies" of this general type are numerous. Our planet itself, as a whole, is such a "plastic body." Its crust is neither unchangeably hard and solidified, nor yet so soft that the traces of what has happened to or in this crust, easily pass away. The human brain, "wax to receive, and marble to retain," is a peculiarly complex instance of a plastic body. Whatever happens to its sense-organs, may impress it, and normally does so,—so delicately yielding are its minutest structures. Yet it is as retentive as it is impressible. A body can possess some degree of this plasticity only when it is not too dense and stiff in structure, and when it consequently contains a good deal of molecular energy; while, at the same time,

it must be stiff enough to resist strain to such an extent as is needed to enable it to keep the traces of what happens to it.

Now, especially in the case of the plastic bodies, the "secondary" changes aforesaid (changes which go on, indeed, chiefly when condensation predominates in the region of the world which is in question, although these changes are not mere cases of condensation), follow a law of the following type:—

(1) If the parts of any large body are at any moment as nearly *alike*, in some specific respect, as they then can be (*e.g.*, if they are, through the action of some cause, made for a moment as nearly as possible of the same temperature), then, unless the causes which especially determined the occurrence of just this state persist, it is certain that this relative "homogeneity" will prove "unstable." That is, a large body, if it be for a time of the same temperature through and through, will cool unequally in its different parts; for the different parts will be differently exposed to the surrounding world. In consequence, it will be a general rule of an evolutionary process, that the energy which is passing out of the various parts of a system will pass at various rates, while the condensation will proceed also at various rates in the different parts concerned, so that there will be a constant tendency of the evolving mass to develop within itself more and more differences. If the mass in question were a gas or a liquid, the results of this inner differentiation would be lost as fast as they appeared, since nothing would there be abiding. But if the body in question, or the mass of bodies, is in a plastic condition, the results of many or all of these successive differentiations will be retained in such forms as permanent shells, rinds, and crusts; or as wrinkles, furrows, variations of internal consistency of structure; or as specially differentiated types of movement; or as habits of a brain, as customs of a society,—and so on endlessly.

(2) Meanwhile, in its relations to the surrounding world, the differentiating and plastic mass, as it thus ages, will react by its various structure and consistency, upon the play of the external forces which impinge upon it. As the sand bank, once formed, deflects the very stream that deposited it, so the differentiating plastic body, as its parts grow more various, will in its turn render more various the new influences to which it is subject. The resulting "multiplication of effects" will be cumulative, and will tend more and more to the differentiation of the plastic body. And so one explains how a planet, first liquid, and of nearly equal heat throughout, gradually complicates its structure as it cools. Each new differentiation of its crust is retained by this plastic body as it slowly grows more solid; and these traces of past differentiation react upon the influences of air, sunlight, ocean, until the climates of deserts and mountain ranges, of seashores and of the interiors

of continents, become more and more various. Equally one explains, in Spencer's opinion, why an organism, a human brain, or a social order, shows, up to its limits, a constant increase of variety in its structure and in its functions.

(3) But progressive differentiation is not all that results in the course of this secondary evolution. The energies within and about a plastic body, as it slowly integrates, tend not merely to the formation of a confused variety, but to the evolution of order amidst the confusion. For, as Spencer insists, there are forms of energy which act like a stream of water, or like a current of air, or like a common and pervasive social tendency. These forms of energy are to be considered as groups of "like forces." They will always be present when a plastic body is subject to secondary evolution; since all the forms of fluid action, some of the forms of radiant energy, the gravitation due to the neighborhood of large masses, etc., are found wherever bodies are undergoing differentiation. Now these more massive forms of energy will move or will transform "like" objects "in like ways," and "unlike" objects "in unlike ways." The results will be the sort of "segregation" (*i.e.*, of sorting) which one sees when light dust is separated from heavy dust by the wind, or when light sediment is separated from heavy sediment by the action of streams and of gravity, or when the approach of a magnet segregates iron particles from a confused aggregate, or when men of a roving disposition are segregated from home-staying folk by the exciting attraction of some newly discovered country or gold mine; or when the soldiers go together to the war, leaving wives and children at home. To this general factor, endlessly complicated in its working by the conditions of organic or of social structure, Spencer attributes the fact that the plastic bodies (subject as they are not only to forces which diversify their parts and activities, but also to forces which tend to group like objects and parts together, and to sunder unlike objects and parts), tend in the long run to attain what he calls a "definite" structure and arrangement. A "definite" structure is one wherein the outlines are clear, the parts divided by sharp boundaries from one another, and the whole not only differentiated, but arranged in orderly fashion. This "segregation" process may be viewed as a special union of the general process of condensation or of "integration" upon which the "primary evolution" depends, with the process of differentiation itself.

(4) As a consequence of the processes thus described, evolution in the cases where it is both primary and secondary, has a character which may be summed up as follows: Evolution is the consolidation of a mass of matter, attended by a loss of some of the energy that this mass contained; while, as this consolidation takes places, both the matter concerned and the energy

which it still retains, pass from a state in which there is little firmness of structure, little orderliness of arrangement, little sharpness of contours, and much inner resemblance of part and part, to a state in which there is great firmness of structure, much orderliness of arrangement, much sharpness of contour, and much inner variety and difference of part and part. This whole process, as Spencer insists, is due to the fact that as the mass concerned loses some of its energy the different relations of the consolidating aggregate, being differently affected by the surroundings, tend to grow more and more unlike, while the more permanent forces that play upon the whole tend to sort out the parts of the whole, and to dispose them in more or less sharply sundered layers or sections; and while, too, in case the mass in question is a sufficiently plastic body, it not only undergoes these changes, but as it ages, preserves the traces of former changes, so that the latter become the foundation of a cumulative increase of former tendencies.

The evolutionary process thus defined must have its limits in case of each limited mass of matter. When these limits are once reached, the no longer plastic body will be in such equilibrium with its surroundings as to resist, by its inner consistency of structure and of movement, such changes as these surroundings are able to bring to pass in it. This state of equilibrium, however, will not be everlasting. The once plastic body, now incapable of further organization, will finally meet conditions to which its structure is not adapted. Forces, such as attrition, collision, and the like, will play upon it and destroy it. Dissolution will succeed evolution.

IV.

Such is, in outline, Spencer's general view concerning the character and causes of evolution, and concerning the place of evolution in Nature. A doctrine of such generality and inclusiveness could not be stated without requiring from its author an exposition of many other fundamentally important theses. The theory appeared upon its face to supplant any theological account of the origin of natural phenomena. Hence it was necessary to make explicit the author's attitude towards religious problems. This undertaking, in its turn, demanded the statement of a theory of knowledge. The result of these requirements was the section of Spencer's *First Principles* which dealt with "The Unknowable." On the other hand, if the general doctrine was to be applied to psychological phenomena, a theory of the relations between mental and material processes was required, so far as these relations in Spencer's opinion belonged to the realm of the "knowable." Furthermore, a summary account of the type of mental evolution was needed in order to enable one to compare this type with that which the general formula described. This need was met by Spencer's interpretation of mental life as an "adjustment of internal to external relations,"—an

interpretation which, abstract as its formulation was, has proved of no small service in directing the course of subsequent psychological inquiry. When, in addition, the general formula of evolution was to be applied in the sociological field, more special theories of the various types of social phenomena were needed. And here Spencer's doctrines as to the origin and evolution of religion, and his analyses of the militant and industrial types of social evolution, were the results of efforts to meet this requirement. Finally, the formula had to be applied in the region to which it appeared the least adapted, namely, in the region of ethics. While Spencer, conceiving ethical activities in terms of the tendency towards individual and social "equilibrium," was able to bring to pass various connections between the type of change which he attributed to a plastic body undergoing secondary evolution, and the type of change which is to be observed in character and in conduct as men's lives harmonize and consolidate, his ethical theory is much more the comment of an old-fashioned English Liberal upon modern social conditions than it is a new result which evolutionary science contributes to human knowledge. Yet in all these regions of inquiry Spencer was led to special theses which stand side by side with his statement of the formula of evolution, and so constitute parts of his contribution to philosophy. Most of all, however, he himself felt that the formula of evolution was his most important contribution to the "unification of science."

When we attempt to estimate the value of the system of ideas which we have thus sketched, it is well at once to lay aside certain controversial tests by which Spencer's opponents have altogether too often sought to try him. In the end, a system of this sort must be judged in the light of what it tries to accomplish, and not in the light of considerations which are foreign to it. Thus, for instance, as myself an idealist, I find myself profoundly at variance with Spencer's theory of knowledge, and with his doctrine of the Unknowable. Yet, viewing the man historically, I have to see that his concern with the problem of knowledge was, comparatively speaking, of incidental importance to him; that he never attacked the problem with any very serious and reflective interest in finding where the problem lay; and that his elaborately stated analyses of "The Universal Postulate," of the "Theories of the Metaphysicians," and of the "Relativity of Knowledge" had their place in his exposition merely as conscientious but uninstructed preliminary efforts to clear the way for quite other considerations, in which he *was* positively interested. Otherwise, these discussions of knowledge and being expressed his classic limitation to certain very simple intuitions,—the wholesome, straightforward intuitions of an English Radical, who, having early seen that we *can* know about natural causation, but cannot know anything about theology, and that we *can* know our rights and our duties, but cannot

make out what it is that interests some people in Plato, in Kant, and in all such speculators,—henceforth reflects upon ultimate problems only for the sake of bringing to sharp expression the beliefs that he never learned to question, or to analyze.

On this side, then, Spencer's limitations are as obvious as it is unfair to make one's judgment of him dependent upon them. What he undertook to do was to reduce to unity certain aspects of the world of empirical facts. That his effort to do this turned upon fundamental ideas which he was never able critically to scrutinize, is of less importance in estimating the value of his principle formula. The real question in case of Spencer is, How far did he help people to understand evolution?

In trying to answer this question, we must again beware of making our judgment turn mainly upon his tendency to apply formulas derived from material phenomena to the description of mental and moral processes. Whatever our view of the nature of things, we all must admit that, since human mental processes are associated with the functions of material organisms, it is useful, for certain purposes, to approach the natural history of mind from the physical side, and to describe psychological processes, so far as that is possible, in terms of their neural and motor expressions and accompaniments. Hence, if anything general can be said about the evolution of my body, that will give me some propositions that I must use in describing the evolution of my mind. A true idealist fears least of all such use of physical formulations as an aid in psychology. For he knows that when you are studying phenomena, the best way to vindicate the sovereignty of reason in the world is to try to describe, in the most exact and orderly way that you can, the lawful connections between mental and material phenomena. The closer and the more exact you show such connections to be, the nearer you come to illustrating the reasonableness of things in the order of Nature. Moreover, since physical phenomena are more describable than are mental phenomena, natural science approaches the latter through the former. Hence whoever regards the evolution of mind as an incident of some physical process of consolidation or of mechanical differentiation, offers us, of course, no ultimate truth about the inmost nature of being; but he also asserts something which no idealist, who recognizes what the business of human science is, should regard as in the least inconsistent with a spiritual interpretation of reality. For, if such a formula is true of the phenomena of matter and mind, it will remain true precisely of—phenomena. Now, Spencer's formula was intended to hold true of phenomena only. Furthermore, that Spencer's business, as a student of phenomena, was with "mechanism," in the general sense, rather than with "teleology," I also fully believe. He ought not, therefore, to be condemned merely because he un-

dertook to conceive evolution in mechanical terms. He would have been false to his just philosophical purpose if he had conceived of it otherwise.

The fair question in regard to Spencer is, then, this: "Is his 'unification' of the purely phenomenal processes of evolution a generalization at once sound and enlightening?" This is the question upon whose true answer his main value for philosophy depends.

The answer to the question is not simple. In favor of Spencer's formula, as he states it, stands the unquestionable fact that the transformations of energy, in the physical world, are all of them, so far as we can now see, apparently instances of a single describable process, which, as a phenomenal process, is invariant in type, whether it takes place in stars or in plants or in poets. This process the modern doctrine of energy, which was very incompletely developed when Spencer began to work out his ideas, has undertaken to formulate in *two* main propositions, of which one deals with the *permanence of the quantity* of the energy of any closed physical system within which such transformations take place, while the second proposition defines the *direction* which the transformations of energy take in a given system, under given conditions (as, for instance, when heat energy tends to pass from a hotter to a colder body). It is unquestionable that any evolutionary process which takes place must exemplify both these principles, but must especially illustrate the second of the two. For the second, having to do with the directions which types of change follow, defines what are, in general, and on the whole, *irreversible* series of transformations of energy, so far as the total systems concerned are taken into account. And no characteristic of the evolutionary processes is more obvious than the fact that, in all the important cases, they also are of an irreversible type. An organism ages, but cannot return to the type of its own early condition. It undergoes dissolution, but never grows young again. There is, then, no doubt, an universal formula, which includes all the evolutionary processes, in so far as they have any describable physical aspects whatever; and this formula is at least in part furnished to us by the theory of energy.

But the general theory of energy, taken by itself, is too wide in its application to give us any physical definition of what distinguishes evolutionary processes from those of the type of dissolution. Spencer accordingly singles out, as his evolutionary processes, those instances in Nature where *consolidation* predominates. Such processes go on, as instances of the second principle of the theory of energy, wherever a system whose energies are upon higher levels than are the levels of the energy of its surroundings, is on the whole losing what Spencer prefers to call its "contained motion." But, as Spencer sees, the most of the evolutionary processes, and in particular the organic processes, involve something which is quite different from

mere consolidation. He prefers to speak of this other aspect of the processes in question as the "secondary evolution" of the plastic bodies. But hereupon appears one of the most obvious difficulties of the doctrine as stated. In case of organic evolution, consolidation, in the main, appears, *not* as a primary feature of this sort of evolution,—a feature to which the differentiation of organs is but an incident, but as itself a comparatively incidental feature, while on the whole, the very reverse of consolidation now predominates. In general, organic evolution involves the *taking in of energy from the environment*, and the consequent presence of various anabolic processes which are, in type, the reverse of the consolidations which take place when bodies cool, stiffen, and grow harder. Similar assertions can be made as to social evolution, when the means of communication, the high training and nutrition of individuals, the physical motives which work against the crowding of masses in single rooms, and so on, tend to introduce more movements and wider separations with the structure of a society. It is indeed true that, in all such cases, there are various "integrations" which Spencer can easily point out, which accompany these processes of increasing mobility and expansion. Tissues harden, cities grow bigger, crowds in theatres grow more numerous, at the same time when the structure of the organisms in question, or of the social groups, also shows many signs of absorbing new energies, and in so far of growing *less* consolidated in its internal structure. But it is only necessary to consider how the sun's heat is the supporter of all the organic evolutionary processes on the earth's surface, in order to see that, in the organic world, the absorption of energy and the consequent tendency of masses of matter to assume a *less* consolidated structure than the structure which characterizes their immediate surroundings in the inorganic world, together constitute, on the whole, the predominant feature of evolution in this realm, while the consolidation which bones and horns and hardened skin and crowded cities exemplify is rather the subordinate feature of the evolution of the living organisms.

If this be so, how can evolution be described as a *single* process, of which consolidation is the primary, while what occurs in the plastic bodies is the secondary aspect? Have we not rather *one* process in the inorganic world when the sun, losing heat, shrinks, and *another*, and relatively opposed process, in the organic world, when the radiant energy of this very sun, caught by the earth and the air in spring-time leads to the manifold processes of expansive life which then occur, as the climate grows warmer? One of these processes is predominantly a shrinking, the other a swelling. Or is it well to say: Evolution is primarily a process of the loss of energy, and so of consolidation, but secondarily (in plastic bodies), a process which includes much absorption of new energy and much assumption of *less* con-

solidated structure on the part of matter? Do I evolve when I primarily shrink, but secondarily swell? If so, what is my evolution,—the shrinking or the swelling?

Spencer has ready his answer, partly, no doubt, in the just-mentioned examples of consolidation occurring (as one part of the life-process) in many organisms. He may add, also, that *unless* the sun were shrinking, the living organisms would not get any new energy to absorb. Hence, he may still insist, the shrinking is the “primary,” the expanding aspect of the anabolic processes of living things is the “secondary” aspect.

But one answers: “Am I aided in understanding evolution as a single process, by thus merely coming to see that it is rather a complex of mutually opposed processes?” I should indeed be aided by just such an insight if Spencer told me wherein lay the *unity* of these opposed processes when they together constitute evolution. But he does not tell me this, except in so far as he shows me that both kinds of processes, the shrinking of the sun and the swelling of the living matter, are consequences of the all-pervasive energy-process. But that energy-process includes dissolution as well as evolution. Wherein am I then yet wiser as to just what constitutes evolution?

Again, to say that the solar system as a whole is steadily losing energy by radiation, and is in so far “integrating,” while the heating of the earth’s surface by the sun’s rays is only local,—this is not to show me that the first of these processes is a primary aspect of evolution, while the other is only the secondary aspect of evolution. For Spencer’s formula seems to say that *all* evolution is first (and unconditionally) integration, while, sometimes (conditionally), evolution is also the secondary evolution of the plastic bodies. But what I seem to find is that *not* all evolution is integration, since secondary evolution often means the very reverse of integration. In vain does one add: “But the secondary evolution is a local incident; the primary evolution is more widespread.” I was not asking to learn what was local and what not. What I was promised was a single consistent formula for the general description, and then for the special types of the process of evolution. I can therefore indeed see that, if *all* evolution is *a*, while, *in addition*, *some of it* is *not only a* but *also b*,—then the unity of the formula is kept, in that “primary” evolution, which is *a*, is a genus, whereof the *a that is b*, viz., secondary evolution, is then a species. But what I find instead of this is that primary evolution is indeed *a*, while secondary evolution is in large part *not a*, but the very reverse of *a*. Where, now, is the unity of the formula?

One fears, then, that this is so far the main result:—Evolution is a consolidation, except in those highly important cases where it is an expansion. Often it is both.

Is this result contradictory? Not at all. Many a process keeps its unity by precisely such an union of opposing tendencies. But the formula is so far simply unenlightening, because it does not tell me wherein this unity lies.

Let us pass to the secondary evolution considered in itself. It involves two great features: Differentiation, and the increase of definiteness through segregation. The differentiation is a cumulative process, due to the fact that a plastic body keeps the traces of what has happened to it, and so constantly prepares a basis for new varieties of effects to be produced upon its various parts. The segregation is due to the sorting types of forces, such as were before exemplified in our summary.

Now we have here again two types of processes which are often opposed to each other. The differentiating forces of erosion break off great rocks, and also smaller particles, which so far confusedly differ from one another as a glacier carries them down the mountain valley. Later on the mountain torrents and later still the rivers of the plain, sort out the various kinds of sediment. The subsequent mud-deposits, stratified and set in order, present less appearance of heterogeneity than would the mass of unaltered glacial débris. Nature thus smooths over rough outlines, arranges "like" things together, wears away varieties, so that sharp contours appear; in brief, reduces as well as increases varieties. It is so in society. Circumstances differentiate men, and the "touch of Nature" makes them one again. My mind differentiates as I learn, and simplifies as I come to understand. My conduct is more heterogeneous when I am learning to dance than it is when I find out how to dance smoothly.

Now one, of course, need not tell Spencer all this. He knows and repeatedly illustrates it all. Nor need one talk of contradictions. A true process of evolution no doubt unites opposed tendencies. But what one wants to know is, *What principle, in any given case, gives the opposing tendencies that unity?* This is what Spencer's account does not tell us. Segregation tends, in certain respects, towards a reduction of the degree of differentiation. What constitutes the true evolutionary union of these two processes?

In sum, what one learns seems to be that, in general, the evolution of the plastic bodies involves increasing differentiation, except where differentiation is diminished, and increased segregation, except where the incident forces mix things. Now, all this is unquestionably true; but does it tell us how to distinguish the true evolutionary *combination* of these opposed tendencies from that combination which leads towards dissolution?

The vagueness of the Spencerian description of evolution renders it possible, of course, to conceive the formula so interpreted as to fit any special

case that may arise. But what one misses is any guide, in the formula, for the precise definition of types of cases *in advance of such special adjustments*. Any permanently and positively useful generalization, in a field like this, must be such as to define for us, not merely something abstract enough to be true whatever happens, but a more or less complete and exact *series of ideal cases* to which the formula can be deductively applied, in such wise as to show how the predicates used in stating the generalization are to be specified to suit each of these ideal cases. The law of gravitation, the theory of energy—these are not formulas such as: “All bodies tend to approach one another,” or “Everything changes.” But they are formulas that can be applied, deductively, to predict in detail the characters of any one of an infinite series of ideal cases (such as planets moving about suns, masses of gas cooling, etc.). Now, nobody expects, as yet, any mathematical formula for evolution. But just because every case of evolution is obviously a case where mutually opposing tendencies somehow balance one another, and combine into higher unities, the requirement of the situation is, not that the philosopher should tell us (truly enough) that evolution involves both shrinkings and swellings, both mixings and sortings, both variety and order,—but that he should show us *how* these various tendencies are, in the various types of evolutionary process, kept in that peculiar balance and unity which, each time, constitutes an evolution. This is what Spencer seems not to have done. He was quite right in thinking that a mechanical theory of the types of evolutionary processes is a needed scientific theory. For evolution, in the phenomenal world, must be reduced to physical laws. His great merit it to have attempted such a theory at all. He aimed at great things in a serious and frank and straightforward way. He stated one notable problem for the coming age. And to have done even this is a great merit.

In sum, Spencer appears as a philosopher of a beautiful logical naïveté. Generalization was an absolutely simple affair for him. If you found a bag big enough to hold all the facts, that was an unification of science. If, meanwhile, you were ready to present a beautifully ordered series of illustrations of your theory, this showed that your facts themselves were conceived with a due respect to their own orderly theoretical unification. But orderly exposition, which Spencer always had at perfect control, is not necessarily the same as the perfection of one's theory. The business of a theory of phenomena is the arrangement of systems of facts in ideal serial orders, according to concepts which themselves determine both the ordering of each series and the precise relations of its members to one another. Spencer's theory of evolution does not determine the relations of the essential processes of evolution to one another, does not define their inner unity, and

does not enable us to conceive a series of types of evolutionary processes in orderly relations to one another.

Yet, as one may reply, he was a pioneer. This is true. His value as such a pioneer has still to be seen in the future of thought. His beautiful straightforwardness of personal character, his noble independence of spirit, his loyalty to what he conceived to be his task,—his humanity, his advocacy of rational social and international peace and liberty,—these things compensate for much imperfection in the result of his philosophy. His demand that the evolutionary concepts shall be unified, remains a permanently inspiring logical ideal which will bear much fruit in future. His service as a teacher of his age will never be forgotten. His limitations have their own classic finish of outline. His place in the history of English thinking is significant, and secure.

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH VERSE

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LONDON

OF the future of English verse we know nothing, and we can know nothing: the wind bloweth whither it listeth. But I have set these words at the head of my paper as an answer to a challenge, a counter-blast to an opinion which I have heard of late echoing in various directions. It was during a visit at Cambridge that I first encountered it and I have ever since thought of that university as the home of lost minds and impossible heresies. I was talking with a memorable scholar and poet, the late Mr. Frederick Myers, when the trump sounded. "There is no future," he said, "for English verse: English poetry has come to an end." I suppose I expressed astonishment or dissent. "Yes," he said, "blank verse is worked out, and the rhymes have all been used up. The only one left was *heaven* and *Devon*, and now that has been taken: there are no more new ones."

The effect of this alarming opinion upon my mind was reinforced shortly afterwards by a discussion in the press upon the merits or demerits of Mr. Stephen Phillips' blank verse. I became aware that the majority of those critics who review poetry in the English press are firmly of opinion that it is an offence against literature to use any rhythm which has not been used before. This is an under-statement of their position, for they seem to be themselves so little observant of the work of the old masters they venerate as frequently to condemn for novelty an effect merely reproduced from the greatest models.

We are thus in a doubly hopeless position; those who follow Mr. Frederick Myers forbid any repetition of the past; while those who follow Mr. William Archer still more strenuously forbid anything except a repetition of the past.

I have named Mr. William Archer for two reasons; first because he has for some years past taken a leading part in the criticism of English poetry, and especially in the controversy to which I have referred; secondly, because I know from a happy experience that he is one of those rare critics to whom reason is dearer than their own reputation for omniscience; one whose judgment may have limitations, but his good humor never.

We may, then, fearlessly go forward on our campaign against these unprogressive opinions, secure that whoever gains an advantage, there will be no methods of barbarism and no regrettable incidents on either side.

I am myself no critic; I have little learning in this matter; and if I venture to put forth my own opinion, I do so rather to test than to propagate it. It is briefly this; that English verse will at any rate not come

to an end because there is no possible future before it; on the contrary, it is a mine with more than one old seam unexhausted and a number of new seams almost unopened, though here and there we may detect the shafts and pick-marks of past centuries about their approaches.

One of the old seams has been known for ages by the name of blank verse. It yields perhaps the finest and most solid metal, and deserves to be separately described. To any but a very intelligent and cultivated audience I should not venture to suggest that blank verse is not the simplest thing in the world. As Mr. Bridges has said, "Most 'lovers of poetry' merely love sing-song: *ritum ritum ritum* is rhythm to them, and anything which will not go *ritum ritum* is harsh." The late Lord Tennyson, in a passage quoted in the Second Volume of his life, speaks even more feelingly on the point:

"The English public," he says, "think that blank verse is the easiest thing in the world to write, mere prose cut up into five-foot lines. In a blank verse you can have from three up to eight beats, but if you vary the beats unusually, your ordinary newspaper critic sets up a howl. The varying of the beats, of the construction of the feet, of the emphasis, of the extra-metrical syllables, and of the pauses, helps to make the greatness of blank verse. There are many other things besides . . . but few educated men really understand the structure of blank verse."

One might perhaps have thought this a little severe; but Lord Tennyson, though a poet, generally knew what he was talking about, and in the controversy of which I have already spoken his opinion received a striking confirmation. This is what Mr. Archer wrote in a review published in the *Outlook* of a recent book of verse:

"I had read 'Christ in Hades'" he says, "some years ago, and had found my pleasure in it seriously marred by the length to which Mr. Phillips carried the modern trick of ignoring accent, or, if you prefer it, bestrewing his iambic lines with trochaic stumbling-blocks. These stumbling-blocks he has not removed from 'Christ in Hades,' but they are much less frequent in other and presumably later poems; and in any case he has now proved his right to a few caprices. None the less one must marvel that he should be capable of his occasional eccentricities. I am aware that he is merely following a tendency of the time, and that several other poets of real ability make a practice of slighting or deliberately misplacing accent. But the source, and still more, the justification of this tendency, I am yet to seek. Is it a mere obstinacy of conservatism to protest that to my ear the syllables: 'O all fresh out of beautiful sunlight' do not make a blank verse line at all? The natural accent—the accent demanded by the meaning—falls on 'O' and 'fresh' and 'sun'; the metrical accent falls on

'all' and 'out' and 'light'; and what becomes of the iambic pentameter when in three out of the five feet the natural accent and the metrical accent clash?"

Up to this point Mr. Archer has been hitting out freshly, but in the following paragraph he begins to show a little more caution.

"True," he continues, "the art of blank verse lies in judiciously relieving the monotony of the insistent iambic. But this clearly cannot be done by the mere haphazard introduction of foreign feet. There must be a limit to permissible departure from the normal and regular line, and in the great poets we find practically no uncertainty as to where this limit falls. Was there ever a poet before, say, 1890, who could endure two marked trochees in the first two places of a blank verse line? For Mr. Phillips, on the other hand, such a line as this has no terrors:

"Agamemnon bowed over and from his wheel."

To my ear this is a mere cacophony, and so it would have seemed, I have little doubt, to Shakespeare. . . . I shall no doubt be told that the ear of Mr. Phillips and some other young poets is cultivated to a point undreamt of by Shakespeare. Well, mine is not; and that is why such lines as the following set my teeth on edge:

Gentle and all *injured*. Art thou a God?
Realizes all the uncoloured dawn.
The bright glory of after battle wine
And yearning as wide as is the world.

Read these lines naturally, and they are not verse at all, but prose; and good verse, to my thinking, is not prose read unnaturally."

This review would supply a Professor of Logic with many good examples of how not to argue. Take the phrase about the "*haphazard* introduction of *foreign* feet." The word "*haphazard*" is absurdly irrelevant; no one has either by theory or practice advocated a haphazard method; least of all Mr. Phillips, who I am convinced, in "*Christ in Hades*" intentionally variegated his metre, as one variegates a salmon fly, for the express purpose of getting the larger—I must not say the heavier—critics to rise at it. The word "*foreign*" is another false assumption; the so-called trochee is no more *foreign* to blank verse than the so-called iambic. We do not call a man a "*foreigner*" because he has a left leg as well as a right one. The next stage is the statement that "there must be a limit to permissible departure from the normal." This would be interesting if it could be proved, but all that is offered us as a foundation for the induction is the further assertion that "in the great poets we find no uncertainty as to where this limit falls." Unfortunately, we find something very different in the great poets, as we presently shall see. In the meantime observe the crushing appeal to prejudice in the allusion to the "ear of the young poets

cultivated to a point undreamt of by Shakespeare," and lastly the triumphant rhetorical question: "What becomes of the iambic pentameter?" To which the only possible answer is: "Whose iambic pentameter?"

For the iambic pentameter is in a worse plight than the iambic foot. The iambic foot is at least in the majority among the feet used in blank verse; it is, as I have said, the right leg, the leg that does the larger half of the work; but the iambic pentameter, in the strict sense, is seldom if ever found to form a greater part than thirty per cent of the lines of any poem. Mr. Archer has appealed unto Shakespeare, and unto Shakespeare shall he go. In a hundred lines of Hamlet there are but seventeen lines made up of five iambic feet. Among the extremely various forms of line used by this particular offender, who is a really disastrous Balaam to the critic's Balaak, we can easily find in any play instances of every separate cadence condemned as mere cacophony in Mr. Phillips; trochees in first, second, third and fourth places, and often two in the same line.

| Angels | are bright still, though the brightest fell.
The wind | sits in | the shoulder of your sail.
Peace, break thee off! | Look! where | it comes again.
In equal scale | weighing | delight and dole.
As needful in our loves, | fitting | our duty.
To be or not to be, | that is | the question.

As for poets before the year 1890, we may ask who wrote

"Universal reproach far worse to bear,"

and

"After forty days' fasting had remained."

if it was not John Milton; and who but Keats and Matthew Arnold wrote:

"Thea! Thea! Thea! Where is Saturn?"

and

"Come then, hear now, and grant me what I ask.

And which is the most cacophonous: Shelley with:

"Climbing the land, howled to the lashing winds"

or Swinburne with:

"Round the prow launched into the morning's lake"

or Tennyson with:

"Stumbled headlong, and flung him face to ground."

But these, and a dozen more from whom I might quote similar splendors, these are the great poets. And what we do find in them—if, that is, we take the trouble to read them—is this, that there is practically no *certainly* as to the limit of possible deviation from the normal. I say "possible" and not "permissible" deviation, because the great poets do not ask permission of anyone for what they do. Their methods, like other great natural processes, cannot be ordered, but they can be observed. Observation will show that if we are to divide their lines into five feet of two syllables each, the number of kinds of feet which they normally use is not confined

even to two, the so-called iambic and trochee. Even by the roughest measurement the feet are of four kinds, namely:

First, the foot in which the beat or stress is on the second syllable—this is the so-called iambic.

Second, the foot in which the beat or stress is on the first syllable—this is the so-called trochee.

Third, the foot in which there is a beat or stress on both syllables.

Fourth, the foot in which there is a beat or stress on neither syllable—in which, in other words, the stress is omitted, if we read the line in the natural way according to the meaning; though sometimes for our own comfort we make a conventional stress, especially where a line ends with a naturally weak syllable, like:

To ransom great kings from captivity.

A very convenient example, containing all four of these kinds of feet, is the first line of Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum."

"And the fog rose out of the Oxus stream."

Here the first two syllables have no stress at all; the next two have each a stress; in the third foot the stress is inverted; and in the fourth and fifth it is normal.

And now, putting aside all other sources of variety, such as pauses, extra-metrical syllables, elisions and so on, we begin to catch sight of the infinite possibilities of blank verse. Mr. Mayor, who treats poetry as a branch of the higher mathematics, might put it in this way: You have four kinds of feet, each of which may occur in any or all of five places in the line; the total of different lines possible is therefore the number of combinations of twenty things taken five together; or about fifteen thousand five hundred. That is what, mathematically speaking, has become of the iambic pentameter.

But Mr. Archer's conservatism is entitled to put in a word here; these combinations cannot be all really possible in practice; there must be a limit to deviations from the normal. Obviously some of our fifteen thousand combinations must be abandoned without defence. Milton, by way of offering a target to the Archers of his day, once composed a line in which eight syllables out of ten have a stress upon them—

"Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death"

but not even Milton in his most waggish moments, not even Mr. Phillips in the ardor of youth, not even the mathematician himself, would use lines composed of ten syllables all stressed, or of ten all unstressed.

Still, what the great poets have ventured in the past gives great hope for the future. I have made, as an experiment, a little table taken from

the first half-dozen books which came to hand; they were Swinburne's "Atalanta," Tennyson's "Queen Mary," Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum," Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," Canon Dixon's "Mano," and Mr. Bridge's "Return of Ulysses."

I find that in these works the number of different kinds of line used is very large; in Swinburne's play there are fifty types or varieties of line in a hundred lines; in the six poems the average is actually forty-four varieties per hundred lines; and if I had added Shakespeare, Milton, Keats and Shelley it would have been higher still. To complete the evidence, we should have to examine, as we cannot now do, the other sources of variety to which I have referred, and also the instances of magnificent lawlessness such as Marlowe's

"Mortimer! Who talks of Mortimer?"

which has one syllable less at the beginning than a good iambic pentameter should have. Probably the critics would prefer to read it as:

"O Mortimer! Who talks of Mortimer?"

Or, again, Shakespeare's eight-syllable line:

"Speak! Strike! Redress! Am I entreated?"

Or Beaumont and Fletcher's with eleven syllables:

"What a full majesty sits in his face yet!"

where that last tremendous "yet" would, I suppose, in these timid days be shut off into a fresh line all by itself; a kind of separate confinement or padded cell.

And now, with regard to blank verse at least, we have kept these curious insects, the poets, under the microscope long enough. It is open to anyone to make observations of their methods and their produce with more patience and greater accuracy, and to found thereupon judgments other than mine. But I submit that until this has been done, the critics must allow us three conclusions; first, that the great poets have worked by ear, and not haphazard or by permission; secondly, that their work shows that there is practically no known limit to the variety of blank verse; everything is right if it is called for by the occasion and justified by the result; thirdly, that it is not for the critics to lay down rules for the poets, but to study them scientifically with at least as much attention and reverence as they would give to a bee or an earthworm. Once give up the theory that if the poet's and the reader's ear do not instantly agree, it is so much the worse for the poet, and we need have no fears for the future; it is still possible for every man to write in a blank verse different from that of his predecessors, expressive of his own personality and suitable to the subject in hand; but

both public and critics must abandon the theory that in poetry what they know is not knowledge.

If we now pass from blank verse to an examination of other kinds of metre, we are confronted by a problem which is not so simple, though it is perhaps more interesting. Here, too, it is variety and freshness of effect that the poet of the future will desire, but though he will have many metres at his disposal, in place of the single one which we have been considering, he runs also a much greater risk of being lost in the crowd of competitors; the instruments are more numerous, but they have been twanged by a thousand thumbs and some of the strings really do seem in danger of wearing out. Blank verse is the metre for great and sustained efforts; those who are impelled to make such great efforts are few and must always be few; of their works, too, only a small minority will survive in the memory and affections of men; whereas a single generation produces nowadays more lyric poets than the entire list of our dramatic and epic writers, and though Francis Bacon, we are told, composed all the literature of Elizabethan times off his own pen, not even Mrs. Gallup could produce the shorter poems of the Victorian Age.

Further, almost every lyric or stanzaic poem demands a different medium of expression to match the endless variations of mood and subject-matter. The first inquiry, then, which we naturally make is whether we have at our disposal the same artifices which have helped the writers of blank verse; and our inquiry will show that the use of these artifices is not only inadequate to the greater need of which we have spoken, but is attended by difficulties which do not exist in the case of blank verse. One of the first qualities—perhaps the very first quality—required in any verse, is that it shall be easily recognizable for what it is; that an ordinarily intelligent reader shall be able at first sight to read it in the manner intended by the author. But there is great danger that inversions or omissions of stress may so obscure or destroy a lyric metre as to make this impossible. The normal form of blank verse is so simple, so familiar and so easily carried in the head that it is always present to the mind's ear of him that reads, and a line, however irregular, will always be recognizable if, as in John Addington Symonds' definition, "it carry so much sound as shall be a satisfactory equivalent for ten syllables, and have its accents so arranged as to content an ear prepared for five."

But when we come to poems in more complex metres the reader would be, and in fact is, constantly puzzled by the introduction of feet in which the stresses are either inverted or omitted. Again, each of these licenses has in lyric verse a special disability of its own. In an iambic metre the inversion of a stress gives force to the foot, a trochee being stronger and more

spirited than an iamb; but in a trochaic or dactylic metre the substitution of an iamb for a trochee would not only be conversely a weakening of the line, but would in many cases take from it the trochaic movement which is its very life and essence.

Let us take an instance. In the volume called "Verses Written in India," Sir Alfred Lyall opens one of his most striking poems—the one called "The Old Hindu"—with these lines:

" Here, as I sit by the Jumna bank,
Watching the flow of the sacred stream,
Pass me the legions rank on rank
And the cannon roar and the bayonets gleam."

I draw attention to the third line: "Pass me the legions rank on rank." The writer's meaning was "The legions pass me"; he knew that to say "Pass me the legions" would be almost to put the imperative in place of the indicative—would be, in fact, dangerously near "Pass me the mustard"—but he knew, also, that the whole character of his metre depended on putting the accented syllable first. In good English the line should be no doubt: "The legions pass me rank on rank," but he felt that that line belonged to quite another poem,—an iambic poem something like this:

" As I sit here by Jumna bank
And watch the flow of yonder stream
The legions pass me rank on rank,
And cannon roar and bayonets gleam."

Not a bad kind of verse, but the fire has gone out of it; and so, having to choose between the natural order of the words and the strict metrical order of the syllables, Sir Alfred preferred to sacrifice grammar to sound, to please the physical ear at the expense of the intellectual ear. We may think that so spirited a poem could have carried off one weak line; but let us not make up our minds on that point until we have given as much thought to poetry as the author himself. In the meantime, we recognize that the danger he was seeking to avoid is a real one. How real, may be seen from the example afforded by Archbishop Trench's poem on the Alma, first published in the *Times* when the news of the battle had just reached England. It is a fine piece of poetry, written in whichever you please of two quite distinct metres, and faultily in either. It begins in a simple succession of trochees:

" Though till now ungraced in story,
Scant although thy waters be,
Alma, roll those waters proudly,
Proudly roll them to the sea."

The first three lines are strict; in the fourth—"Proudly roll them to the sea"—the word "to" has no stress, or has a conventional stress in-

stead of a natural stress. It cannot be said, however, to spoil the metre in any way so far; on the contrary, it does something to break the monotony of the rather hard "humpty dumpty humpty dumpty" movement. But the writer, whom we may allow ourselves to judge because his work is finished and can be estimated as a whole, because, in fact, our scientific observation of him is as complete as it ever can be—the writer was a fiery soul carried along by—shall we say?—a high-power automobile over which he had imperfect control. Half-way through his run he has begun to wobble as badly as this:

"Yea!—nor all unsoothed their sorrow
Who can proudly mourning say,—
When the first strong burst of anguish
Shall have wept itself away—"

These last three lines cannot possibly be read like the lines with which the poem began; they would, by the force of grammar, mean something quite different from what the writer intended. Let us try to keep the accent on the first syllable in each line; we get:

"Whó can proudly mourning say
Whén the first strong burst of anguish
Sháll have wept itself away—"

Impossible: it would be an interrogative sentence, and rather an argumentative one, too. No, the stresses must be omitted; and now observe what happens to this metre when two out of the four stresses are omitted in any line. It turns into a totally different movement:

"He has past from us, the loved one,
But he sleeps with them that died
By the Alma at the winning
Of that terrible hill-side!
Yes—and in the days far onward
When we all are cold as those
Who beneath thy vines and willows
On their hero beds repose,
Thou on England's banners blazoned
With the famous fields of old,
Shall, where other fields are winning,
Wave above the brave and bold:"

Any attempt here to keep up the original movement would bring us down to reading:

"By' the Alma át the winning
Of that terribúll hill-side."

No, the gallant author has mistaken his direction half-way through, and charged in true Crimean fashion into the wrong valley: *c'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la guerre*.

These two poems, then, may, I think, be taken to show, not that our old

familiar lyric metres cannot be used any more, but that they cannot be used in any but the old familiar way; any attempt to vary their effects by artifices such as Milton and Keats used in blank verse can only end in disaster; for the aim of poetry is to be not only beautiful but memorable, and no one can be expected to remember a poem in which even the author has forgotten his metre before the end.

How, then, is the desired freshness to be attained? Frederick Myers, as I have said, thought that the stalemate of poetry was due to the exhaustion of rhymes and the ideas embodied in them; we have been told all that there is to tell by any possible combination of *doves* and *loves*, *dreams* and *streams*. And certainly from Edmund Spenser down to our own day there have been poets who believed that for the Defence of Poesie an armament of new rhymes was the chief thing needed. Browning is the greatest of these, and such rhymes as *consider* and *insect-ridder* or *scrappy* and *happy* undoubtedly were in their own place effective; but then they were most memorable precisely when they were least beautiful. Mrs. Margaret L. Woods, a lady who has herself written some stirring and delightful verse, has in the preface to her latest volume, "The Princess of Hanover," recommended boldly the more extensive use of Cockney rhymes and imperfect or eye-rhymes, which she maintains are, or ought to be, used by poets for the very reason that they are not true rhymes. "The ear," she says, "grows weary of the regular beat of true rhyme upon it, and welcomes the relief of a partial resemblance. . . . In that masterpiece of lyric harmony, Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind,' there occur such rhymes as *sepulchre*, *atmosphere*, *even heaven given*; and the perfect use of these imperfect rhymes is an element in its beauty." Another distinguished writer on the same side is M. Charles Bonnier, whose charming little book on the French poets of the nineteenth century, printed a few months ago by the Clarendon Press, contains a most ingenious chapter on Rhyme. French verse, having no stress or accent, is entirely dependent on rhyme; and the constant use of perfect rhymes, even if the supply of them were adequate, would produce a noisy effect; the murmur of the poor little syllables lightly tripping in the line would be quite drowned by the clash of cymbals which ends each couplet. To lead off at once with a perfect rhyme is therefore, to a Frenchman, a kind of indelicacy, like asking a man to dine within two minutes of your first introduction to him. The poet of fine instinct will go about it more gradually; he will begin with a distant alliteration, which will attune the ear and prepare it to recognize the relationship of the succeeding sounds; then will come a procession of rhymes leading up from one so bad as to show only the merest glimmer of a likeness, to better and better ones, until the moment when at last the real rhyme appears, "unique and luminous."

That is the French way of putting it; an Anglo-Saxon would probably have described the process as a series of intentionally bad shots ending at the fourth or fifth attempt with one clean, ringing bull's eye. And certainly this is sometimes an effectual method of winding up an audience to the pitch of interest required.

My own belief is that rhyme has very little to do with the matter. I do not think the difficulties of rhyme have ever prevented anyone from writing as much verse as he wished to write—it might have been better if they had—nor do I believe that it is possible to invent any large number of new and tolerable rhymes. The expansion of English verse must be accomplished by the exploration and conquest of new metres; and my present purpose is not so much to explain how this may be attempted—for that is the business of the poets, not of their readers,—as to show how it has already been done by living writers, and to remind the reader that if their rhythms and cadences seem unfamiliar upon a first reading, it does not necessarily follow that these are bad. The authorities, of course, will tell us that they are bad; and no wonder, for when you have taken the trouble to write a book and classify all the existing metres on a principle of your own, and perhaps founded your reputation upon it, what could be more objectionable than the experiments of some upstart poet—some fellow called Milton or Shelley or Tennyson or Bridges—who writes a kind of verse that won't go into any of your pigeon-holes? The author of "Evans on Versification" pronounced a certain form of stanza to be "evidently unfit for use" in English; after that, how could one expect him to welcome a poem like Tennyson's "In Memoriam," written throughout in that particular form of stanza? I do not know what he said about it; let us hope he did not write to the papers asking indignantly, "What is to become of the iambic tetrameter?"

I do not think he did, for though he may for once have prophesied before he knew, he was a really learned and reasonable writer, and showed it by declaring that the more natural base of English rhythm is stress. I say "more natural" because for centuries another principle has been also in use among us, and is commonly supposed to be the governing principle of our verse; namely, the syllabic principle; the first thing most of us do in scanning a difficult line is to count the syllables on our fingers. The fact is, however, that to everyone but a few makers of authoritative books, the stresses in English are more important than the syllables, and the reason for this may be clearly seen if we look back into the pedigree of English poetry, which is a very curious and instructive one.

At the head of it stands Latin Verse as the Founder of the Family. Now, Latin Verse was written by quantity; that is to say, the syllables of all the words in the Latin language were divided into two classes only, long and

short, according to certain arbitrary rules. But the Latin language, which was older than Latin verse, was spoken or read by stress; for instance, the word "Trojanas" is by quantity made up of three equally long syllables (Tro-jan-as); but in reading, it consists of one stressed syllable between two unstressed, and is pronounced "Troj^ánas." The happy result of this is that a poem like Virgil's "Æneid," containing twenty-four thousand lines, all made on one pattern, with slight variations, is no longer uniform or monotonous when you come to read it, because any two lines, though made up of exactly the same longs and shorts, will often have their stresses in quite different parts of the line. I open my Virgil at random and find three lines close together in which the quantities are absolutely identical, thus:

Trojanas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
Instar montis equum divina Palladis arte.

The pattern is identical, but when we come to read them properly we find that the first has four (or perhaps five) stresses:

Troj^ánas ut ópes et lamentábile régnum

the second has five,

Sed si tántus ámor cásus cognóscere nóstros,

and the third has six,

Ínstar móntis équum dívina Pálladis árte.

Moreover, these stresses fall for the most part in quite different places in the line. The lines are therefore entirely the same in quantity and almost entirely different in stress; and for the Latin ear it was just this contradiction of the two elements which made the pleasure of the verse.

And now let us cease to be Latins and become the barbarians we really are. It is the fourth century of the Christian Era; the Roman Empire is breaking up; we who have come from the Thames, the Danube or the Rhine, we know nothing and care less about these artificial rules of long and short: we take the Latin language as we hear it spoken and read, and when we want to write verse what do we do? We imitate Virgil's lines so far as the stresses are concerned, but we break the laws of quantity without a pang: we consider our popular poet Commodian's line:

In talibus spes est vestra de Christo refecto

to be a perfect hexameter, in spite of its three howling false quantities, because its stresses are the same in number and position as those of Virgil's line:

Dardanidae infensi pœnas cum sanguine poscunt.

We have lost one of the two elements of the Roman's pleasure, but we have preserved the only one that matters to us.

But we are not the only heirs of the Roman Decadence. There are the Latins themselves, ruined and divided, speaking languages made of rags and tatters from the majestic Roman toga. What have they saved from the wreck of Latin Verse? Certainly not the quantity, still more certainly not the stress; for one of the main characteristics of their languages is the almost total absence of stress even in their common prose speech. No, these French and Italians have decided to make their poetry on a numerical principle; since it has neither quantity nor rhythmic movement it must be measured by syllables, so many to the line; and to this day their verse is, in fact, syllabic.

When we come to the fourteenth century, we find that in our own country these two lines of descent, the English and the French, have been united; stressed verse and syllabic verse have been joined together, and from the marriage has sprung the great and splendid dynasty of the English poets; for before Chaucer's time—that is, before the advent of the French influence—there is little or no English poetry in the modern meaning of the term.

The most curious thing about this union is that great as its success has been, the two elements have never quite settled down together; the English principle of stress has always struggled to free itself from the more rigid French principle of carefully numbered syllables. Our Blank Verse, which is legally bound to contain exactly ten syllables, is found in our greatest poets to have sometimes only eight or nine, sometimes eleven or even twelve. Our lyric metres are often very loosely written and admit lines with a syllable lacking, or with extra syllables hopping and skipping here and there; the tacit understanding being that so long as the rhythm is preserved, that is, so long as the stresses are sufficiently represented, a little illegality in the syllables will be winked at. Sooner or later, then, it was sure to occur to someone to ask whether this organized hypocrisy was worth keeping up; whether stress pure and simple might not be a sufficient principle for composing metres suitable to our language. To how many it actually did occur we hardly know, but Coleridge was probably the first to state the proposition in public. In the preface to *Christabel* he says, "I have only to add that the metre is not, properly speaking, irregular, though it may seem so from its being founded on a new principle, namely, that of counting in each line the accents, not the syllables. Though the latter (the syllables) may vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents will be found to be only four." This preface is apparently one of the things the authoritative critics never read. Or perhaps it is, as Mr. Bridges has said, "too simple to be understood." Look at the simplicity of it; you set out to write a poem, say in short couplets; you put the words of your story in their nat-

ural order, with their natural pronunciation and stresses; you do not need to trouble yourself about iambs or trochees; anapæsts or dactyls are no more to you than anacondas or pterodactyls; when you have got four beats or stresses you have got a line, and you go on to the next:

'Tis the mǐddle of the níght by the cástle clóck
And the ówls have awákened the crówing cóck.

See what variety is attainable even in so plain a metre—

Is the níght chílly and dárk?
The níght is chílly but nót dárk.

These two lines have only seven and eight syllables each; but they have their four stresses, each as clearly as the first couplet with its eleven-syllable lines.

And observe that if Coleridge had wished to write in lines of five stresses instead of four, it would have run just as easily:

'Tis the mǐddle of níght by the cástle clóck, and the ówls
Have awákened the crówing cóck, and the mástiff howls.
Is the níght chílly and dárk? The níght
Is chílly but nót dárk: the stárs are bríght,

Here, then, is a rich seam in the mine of verse; and it would have been worked far more than it has, but for an unfortunate failing on the part of Coleridge himself. He began that wonderful poem "Christabel" with all his genius glowing round him; but not only did he never finish it, before he had gone many lines ahead he forgot even the principle on which he was working and wrote such lines as this:

From her kénnel benéath the róck
Maketh answer *to* the clóck,

which, if read naturally, have only three stresses each; to make them four-stressed lines you must give a conventional stress to "from" and "to"; and there is your whole principle destroyed at once, for it is the stresses which ought to make the line, not the line to cause the stresses. This glaring inconsistency between the preface and the poem, between Coleridge's theory and his practice, has no doubt confused his readers and prevented them from understanding what he meant. However, Shelley, Moore, Matthew Arnold and others followed with poems written on the same principle, and now that the need for fresh metres is more pressing, others are resorting to it more and more. To get some idea of the power and range of this, which is virtually a new instrument, it is only necessary to read one or two pieces from the "Shorter Poems" of Robert Bridges; first a picturesque and imaginative poem called "A Passer-by":

Whither, O splendid ship, thy white sails crowding,
Leaning across the bosom of the urgent West,
That fearest nor sea rising, nor sky clouding,
Whither away, fair rover, and what thy quest?

then a reflective and pathetic piece, "On a Dead Child":

Perfect little body without fault or stain on thee
 With promise of strength and manhood full and fair!
 Though cold and stark and bare,
 The bloom and the charm of life doth awhile remain on thee.

and, thirdly, a realistically descriptive poem called "London Snow":

When men were all asleep the snow came flying,
 In large white flakes falling on the city brown;
 Stealthily and perpetually settling and loosely lying,
 Hushing the latest traffic of the drowsy town.

It will be seen at once that many of these lines are not only new in their rhythm, but are such as could not, so long as the words keep their natural pronunciation, exist at all in any other kind of English metre known to us. The occurrence of two stresses in immediate succession without any light or unstressed syllable between them, is by nature uncommon in English verse, which has mostly followed some sort of rocking or undulating movement, called in the books a "return"; and by using these successive stresses in a line such as—

"Thy sails for awnings spread, thy masts bare"

the metre gains a new power of adapting itself more closely to its subject-matter. Similarly the occurrence of three or even four unstressed syllables between two stresses in a line like that which describes the snow—

"Stealthily and perpetually settling and loosely lying"

is very rare in verse, and brings something of the gravity and self-restraint of prose and of the speaking voice as contrasted with song. And to say this is to offer a great guarantee for the future of English verse; for modern poetry seems to need, in order that it may be able to express modern thought, a vehicle less lyric in feeling, more staid, more calm, more fit for the speech of strenuous narrative and high Philosophy. Walt Whitman saw the need, and overshot the mark in his hurry to reach it, but he came near, by his unaided instinct, to a music of the kind required; as anyone may see who will read to himself that most beautiful of all his poems:

"A sight in camp in the daybreak gray and dim."

Browning, too, knew that his thought was too great to be carried by a verse of light and elaborate construction and rapid artificial motions; the swing of a strong man's walk in broad daylight was what he sought; and he only got it at the cost of grace. What might he not have done, say, in humor-

ous drama, if he had been able to write a verse like that into which Mr. Bridges has translated Terence in his play called "The Feast of Bacchus"?

"What in Heaven's name
Can be your object? What do you drive at? To guess your age
You are sixty years at last. There's no one hereabouts
Can shew a better farm, nor more servants upon it:
And yet you do the work yourself, as though you had none.
Never do I go out, however early in the morning,
Never come home again, however late at night,
But here I see you digging, hoeing, or at all events
Toiling at something or other. You are never a moment idle." ~

From the Lyric to the Comic there is, Mr. Bridges says, nothing that cannot be done in this field of rhythm; and it is, perhaps, he concludes, not the least of the advantages of stressed verse that while it sounds as though it were easier than any other, it is in reality most difficult to do well. It is, however, being done well, and, having its roots in native soil, will probably continue to prosper. In any case it has sufficiently shown that English poetry will at least not fail because it has exhausted the possibilities of English verse.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE CENTRAL WEST

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THREE types of the American college or university, in respect to origin and control, are emerging: One ecclesiastical or denominational; one private or popular, springing from the people in its unorganized relation; and one State, arising from the people in its organized relation. These three types are not perfectly distinct. The ecclesiastical or denominational type may also be private or popular, and the private or popular form may also be denominational. Under the general law of the State a member of a certain church may found a university; it is thus made a private or personal foundation. If founded for service through the Baptist or Presbyterian Church, it is governed by a Board of Trustees of which the members are affiliated with the Presbyterian or Baptist Church, and is a denominational college or university. Again, an institution belonging for a time to one type may come to belong to another. Harvard and Yale were founded by and for the Congregational Church. Their special ecclesiastical relations have long since passed away. This transformation from one type to another may be so gradual that at certain times it would be difficult to affirm whether an institution were more denominational than private, or more private than denominational.

Than denominational, the popular and the State forms of higher education prevail more or less fully in different parts of the United States. In the older Northern States the private or popular college still predominates. In the older Southern Commonwealths it has an influence at least equal to that exerted by the denominational college. In the larger part of all the Commonwealths west of the Alleghanies the State institution holds a place superior to that of the denominational college.

The relations of the institutions of these three types to each other are in different conditions in the several sections of the country. In New England the relations are, on the whole, fixed, though developments in the University of Maine have been the cause of some disturbance during the last few years. In the older Southern sections, the State institutions dominate, and their leadership is commonly, though not always, admitted. In the Western Commonwealths, the relations are not fixed. Constantly subject to change, they engender discussion which, as the president of a State university has said to me, is sometimes "unworthy of a high-minded man." And yet such characterization is not to be commonly applied. The govern-

ing boards of practically all the institutions of the higher education between the Ohio and the Sacramento are eager to discover and to put into force principles and methods which will make for the enlargement and enrichment of all the people, and not simply for the betterment of their own immediate constituency. Each, to be sure, is concerned for its own prosperity. It is thus that general advancement can best be secured; but not one of them would purchase its own growth at the cost of the wider good.

As the presence and power of the three types of institutions differ in different parts of the country, so also do they differ in different States of any one part. The relations of the University of Maine to the three other colleges of Maine are unlike the relations of the University of Vermont to the other college of Vermont. The relations of the University of California to the other institutions of California are unlike the relations of the University of Michigan to the colleges of Michigan. In certain Commonwealths, as Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and Indiana, a private and denominational college gained a secure place through general usefulness before a State institution was founded. In other Commonwealths, as Michigan, Nebraska and Kansas, the State institution held from the first in an administrative and educational leadership which it still maintains unchallenged. In Illinois and California personal foundations have recently been made, which have brought, among many other blessings, increased prosperity to the universities bearing the names of their great Commonwealths.

But among the hundreds of the colleges and universities which may be called Western has specially prevailed: to wit, a tendency to increase the power of State-endowed and State-supported education. This increase has touched the lower no less than the higher education, and the expense involved has been heavy and constant. But seldom does the American people complain of paying taxes for the support of education, provided it can be assured that the money is honestly collected and effectively expended. The amount of money which the State Universities spend every year is sufficient to give a sense of pride to every patriot, though of course the sum is a pittance compared to the millions which we appropriate to the building of a navy.

The State Universities of the Central West are each spending from \$400,000 to \$1,000,000 in an academic year, while, with a few exceptions, the more conspicuous of the private institutions are spending between \$100,000 and \$200,000. These and similar comparisons prove that advance has been made in institutions of each of the three types. The financial statement is at once an element of progress and an indication of progress in other than financial lines. The record for all colleges is indeed magnificent. But I suppose that relatively the greatest progress has occurred in the State

institutions. It seems that the people dwelling in the several Commonwealths of the Central West have determined that the higher, as well as the lower, education shall not be left to the occasional generosity of the philanthropist, be he ever so wise or so generous, nor to the zeal of a church, be that church as progressive as the Methodist or as widely conservative and as thoroughly committed to education as the Congregational or Presbyterian; they have determined that they, in their formally constituted and legally established capacity, they themselves shall constantly, and generously, and completely take charge of the higher education. This movement, too, is apparently only a part of the still wider movement which shows itself in vast socializing processes and industrial combinations and consolidations. The whole educational progress or regress moves to and fro in sympathy with all the tendencies of life and of living.

In the making of any adjustment or re-adjustment of the forward forces of the higher education in the Central West, it is easy to find the single principle which should prevail. That principle is the welfare of all the people, and not the people of one State only, but of all the United States, and not only of the United States, but of the world; their welfare, too, not during the present year or decade only, but through all the future. The old Utilitarian principle, the greatest good of the greatest number, and, one may add, for the greatest length of time, represents the only sound and defensible policy.

The first thing which occurs to one in considering the forces of the higher education in the Central West and their adjustment to each other and to all human conditions, is the great number of institutions for the higher education. One may, of course, exclude institutions which have a name but no real existence, institutions, too, which have the title of college or university which are doing the work of high schools. But even after these eliminations have been made the number that remains is still vast. In most of the Commonwealths of the Central West is found what is generally called a "College Association," a society made up of the colleges of the Commonwealth which by common consent are recognized as the best. The total number of such colleges in the Central West is about one hundred and fifty, a number which seems too large for the population. Multiplicity of colleges means colleges small in numbers of their students, and colleges poor in purse, and colleges poor in purse mean colleges inadequate in equipment and insufficiently manned; colleges small in number of students may do better work for this small number than colleges large in numbers may be able to do for the many; but certainly poverty and its necessary consequences are not the usual elements of collegiate strength and value.

But let it be recognized that the presence of many colleges has certain

advantages. Chief among these is the opportunity for local influence. The Chancellor of the University of Nebraska, who has served as a teacher in a small denominational college, Denison University of Ohio, as a teacher in a large university, Cornell, as well as the chief executive of Brown University, says out of his wide experience: "The average denominational college possesses three points of conspicuous and indubitable usefulness, in which neither the great State university nor the great private university can vie with it. Precisely the smallness and the numbers of these institutions which make them the sport of thoughtless heads, open to them a vast and unique mission. The little colleges dotting the country up and down are the inland recruiting stations for the learned world. By their aid a vast number of ingenuous youth, who, but for such lowlier light plants of science would receive only common-school education, beam out as shining stars in the firmament of learning. The *clientele* of every school, large or small, is mainly local. Young people of the vicinity see a near-at-hand college, hear more or less about it and its work, now and then meet students from it, and thus, little by little, become inspired to seek at it or elsewhere liberal learning. If only the few large teaching centres existed, this influence would be most narrow, whereas now it pervades the country. The power of this sort which the little college in your country or congressional district exerts in the regions about it is, in the course of years, immense. Besides the students of the smaller institutions who pass from them directly to the work of life, numbers who attend become fired with ardor for learning and press on to universities or professional schools, building up their mentality until they become members of the World's great Academy. This recruiting power of the local college is assisted by the low cost of living and the simple manners which prevail in it. To be economical is more fashionable at a small college than at the average large college."

The small colleges, as Dr. Andrews says, are forced to give "an instruction characterized by intensity and thoroughness within a restricted range. The very limitation of such a community is helpful to the opening of intellectual life, and, in certain lines, to its continuance. A youth studying amid a vast concourse of students, taking all sorts of studies higher and lower in diverse departments, is often bewildered and discouraged. So various aspects of thought, science, literature, philosophy and practice being crowded upon his notice, he feels himself too weak to grasp them or too insignificant mentally to make his educational effort worth while. If, on the other hand, the mental word as first presented to a young scholar seems comprehensible, not infinitely above and beyond him, the vision of it, instead of appalling him, lures him on. No doubt there are brilliant pupils whom such restricted initial vision of the thought-world harms. Assimilating

at once all the knowledge in sight, they think they will have mastered the truth when they have just begun, harboring a sense of familiarity in their mental attainments, when these are in fact extremely meagre. But those geniuses are so rare that this defect in small colleges does little to counter-balance the intensity and thoroughness to which I have adverted."

For better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, this vast number of colleges is here. They are a part of the problem. If they were not here, there would still be a problem, and perhaps a harder one than that which is now set for us.

In attempting to solve the problem of the mutual relation of the different colleges of the Central West, this obvious idea must be borne in mind; each institution should do that work which, by environment or endowment, or by its own historical heritage, it is best fitted to do. This work should be its primary duty. Other work which it is not so well qualified to do may represent a secondary duty.

There are three kinds of work which the State University is specially fitted to do: first, technical; second, advanced scientific or graduate; third, professional, excluding the training of clergymen and excluding the training of teachers. In the first kind is included all the work for the training of engineers, who serve society in the betterment of its physical and material conditions. In the second kind is included every form of research. A scholastic value of the highest significance for the progress of men and for the development of the forces of the earth and of the air. In the third kind is included the training of those to whom is specially committed the duty of promoting the personal rights and developing the personal powers of each individual.

There are at least three reasons why the State-endowed, State-supported institution should regard the doing of these three kinds of work as a primary duty. One reason is found in its expensiveness. The scientific studies and pursuits are far more costly than the linguistic, the historical and the philosophic. The library necessary for purely human studies is less elaborate than the laboratory necessary for the study of chemistry or of physics. Scientific experiment is the most expensive form of research. The professional study of medicine, with hospitals, and of pedagogy, with practice schools, represents a vast equipment and a large cost in administration. Such expense is so great that only the whole body of people, in their largest pecuniary relation, is able adequately to meet it. Any one of these three forms of education,—technical, advanced scientific, or professional,—the private university might be able to assume; all of them, a few of the oldest and ablest universities do take up and carry forward with great strength and to noble results; but in the newer States and the less well-to-do, in which so

many of the institutions of a well-ordered life are to be established at once, and supported continuously, the great cost of carrying forward scientific and professional studies makes this work a primary duty of the State institutions.

A second reason lies in the fact that such scientific and professional studies result in the widest possible service. They benefit every member of the community. Of course the study of Greek or of Hegel's philosophy benefits the whole community. But the benefit is usually less direct though not less real than the benefit conferred by mechanical engineering. Safe bridges, good roads, effective sewage, pure water, cheap and sufficient light, these results of science are a blessing to all. The skill of the physician and of the lawyer, the worth of the well-trained teacher, are a help to the whole community. It is fitting that all society, enriched by these advantages, should pay for them.

A third reason for the State institutions doing this scientific and professional work consists in the fact that these services are the least liable to stir up partizan and political feeling. It must be acknowledged, and acknowledged with a sense of sadness and of shame, that in certain Commonwealths, the State university is "in politics." In those Commonwealths in which the governors or regents of the university are elected by popular vote, the partizan relation is inevitable. In those Commonwealths, too, in which the Governor appoints the regents, and by usage is supposed to appoint them wholly or in a majority from his own party, the political relation is also inevitable. University teaching, which may be interpreted as being in opposition to the beliefs of the dominant party may therefore awaken opposition, and become the object of interference more or less troublesome. But though economic and industrial teaching may be more or less hampered, the work of the scientist is not subject to such conditions. There is no politics in Ceramics. Chemistry and Electricity are neither Republican nor Socialistic.

Such, then, are some of the works which it is the primary duty of the State University to do,—works which are of great cost, which are of common benefit, and which do not call forth partizan prejudice.

But there are also works which the private or denominational college is best fitted to do. The most important service of this character relates to religion. Other services there are to which I shall presently allude, but this service is first in its manifold relations. In the regard which educators have paid to the dogmatic side of religion,—and the dogmatic side is important,—they have partly forgotten its fundamental and absolute essence as an element and force in the educational process. For religion does represent the relation of man to absolute and ultimate being. Religion gives to the student, as to every man, the highest and noblest. To his intellect

religion offers the greatest being which he can apprehend; to his conscience religion offers a law-giver whose principles he is to hold and whose laws he is to obey; to his will religion offers a force, more or less known, more or less knowable, with which he is to associate himself, if in co-operation, for better, if in antagonism, for worse; to his heart religion offers a being, which, if regarded as impersonal, is to be worshipped. One may say that such a religion is remote from Christianity as preached in most pulpits. Such a remark contains truth. I maintain, however, that such principles are essentially Christian, and should therefore be made the basis of Christian teaching and influence in the denominational college. The denominational interpretation of essential Christianity defeats its own purpose. For one should never forget that the ordinary student has an affinity for principles. The Congregational or Presbyterian student has small regard for the five points of Calvinism; and the Methodist student cares little for the methods of John Wesley. He will make his own theology if one will give him the essential stuff; and the theology he so makes will certainly be a better theology for him than any which a teacher could impose on him. For such a theology has significance,—it has life and reality: it is life of his life, thought of his thought, and choice of his own choosing. Nothing is more valuable for the making of strong, fine and worthy manhood than the inevitable bringing of the student into close relations with ultimate reality, the God.

Such intellectual volitional, ethical contact is secured better in the personal or denominational colleges than in the college under State control. The private college is usually organized on the religious foundation. Its trustees are chosen with a more or less regard to religious affiliations; its teachers, though in the older colleges, seldom exerted on denominational grounds, are yet by presumption sympathetic with essential Christianity. The routine of each day begins with a chapel service, and Sunday is devoted to the church.

Yet it should be affirmed that the constitutions of most States allow a more definite teaching of religion in school and university than is usually given. Of course, one might cite the Constitution of Massachusetts, which goes much further in emphasizing the duty of religious instruction and worship than the Constitutions of most States; but even the fundamental instrument of Indiana declares that (Sec. 48), "No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of religious opinions or interfere with the rights of conscience," and that (Sec. 49), "No preference shall be given by law to any creed, religious society, or mode of worship; and no man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, against his consent." . . . The

Constitution of Illinois also states that: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be guaranteed; and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity, on account of his religious opinions; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths and affirmations, to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State. No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent, nor shall any preferment be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship."

These references prove that the State University, like the public schools of certain Commonwealths, is able to use religion to a certain extent as a condition and force of its administration. In most Commonwealths the State University could fittingly hold a service of prayer each day, but it could not fittingly require the presence of its students at such a service. As a matter of fact, a few universities do maintain a daily chapel service, and of these few, among them the University of Minnesota, none require the presence of the many students who attend. But it is clear that the type of religious piety whose exercises in the universities receive the sanction of the governing boards, is more general and less aggressive than that found in the private or denominational college.

Which of the two types is superior it is not necessary to affirm; the discussion would carry us too far afield; each has its advantages and each its disadvantages. It is evident, however, that not a few families with ecclesiastical affiliations prefer to send their sons and their daughters to State institutions rather than to their own denominational college. They know that many are the elements which make a college of value to a student, and that religion, though one of these elements, is only one. In Lincoln, Nebraska, is a university under the control of the Methodist Church. In Lincoln, also, is the university of the State. The number of students who are adherents of the Methodist Church is practically the same in the State university as in the Methodist institution—about five hundred. In general, too, the number of students in a State university affiliated with a particular denomination is found to be larger than the number of students in the corresponding denominational college. There are more Congregationalists in the University of Michigan than in Olivet College, and more Presbyterians than in the Presbyterian College of Michigan. The number of Congregationalists in the University of Minnesota exceeds the number found in Carleton College. Such statistics, of course, do not prove that the influence of a church is stronger in a State university than in its own institution, for influence is now shown only by numbers. They prove

merely that, in the opinion of many church families, the advantages offered by their own colleges are on the whole inferior to those offered by the university of the Commonwealth.

Besides the duty of religious education, which is more easily done by the private than by the State institution, there is a further service which, as a matter of fact, the private college renders more easily. In the personal influence of the teachers over students the private college is undoubtedly the stronger. One may say this should not be the case. Yet usually it is the case. The teacher in a State university is inclined to regard his employer, the Commonwealth, as an impersonal being demanding only impersonal service. His work is to give a certain number of lectures, to hear a certain number of recitations, to conduct a certain number of laboratory or other exercises; these given, heard, conducted, his work appears to be done. This narrow conception of professional service is, of course, far from universal. Scores of exceptions could easily be cited. But that this conception is more common in the State institution than in the private would, I believe, be granted by all.

Now the more personal relation of teacher and student in which the private institutions excel is most advantageous to the student. It is one of the great values, if not the greatest, which he carries away from college. It means inspiration, wisdom, life.

It is often said that the State university, organized in many cases to teach the most practical subjects, should limit itself to the sciences, and that the private institutions should emphasize the humanities. So exact differentiation seems hardly possible. The State university can not worthily teach science to those who know science only. "If I wish to teach a boy chemistry, I would first have him learn Greek," a great teacher of chemistry said. I should carry his thought a step farther, and say that it is the duty, though a secondary duty, of State institutions, to offer tuition in language, literature, philosophy, and history.

It is equally incumbent on the private and denominational college to provide instruction in physics, geology, biology, and chemistry. What is the primary duty of the State institutions, in teaching the more practical subjects, is the secondary duty of the more personal institution, quite as truly as for the State institutions, to teach the humanities, is their binding, primary duty. As to the formal relations of the three classes of institutions, I wish to offer certain specific suggestions.

It has been proposed that all undergraduate instruction be given over to the private or denominational college. This would be practicable in a State like Ohio, where the private colleges are sufficient in number, ample in equipment, in number, and efficient in service. It would not be practi-

cable in Michigan, where the number of private colleges is only five. But even if practicable, such a surrender might not be wise. The duty thus transferred from the citizens in their organized capacity to essentially the same citizens in their unorganized capacity would prove very onerous; and in certain States, like Kansas or Texas, the private colleges could not properly perform it.

It is often suggested that the private colleges assume all undergraduate work of the freshman and sophomore years, while the university undertook the last half of the undergraduate course. Such a method, however, would involve an arbitrary cutting of scholastic relations. This severance would not only bring disaster to the finer scholarship, but would necessitate the surrender of many personal relations, which are of the richest worth. Most students would, therefore, refuse to submit.

I am reluctant to believe that, in most Commonwealths some system of confederation cannot be successfully adopted, under present conditions. At the same time, when many colleges were founded the conditions were quite different. One can now go as quickly and almost as cheaply from Cleveland to Cincinnati, at opposite sides of a great State, as one could go seventy years since, from Oberlin College in Hudson, only fifty miles away. Electric roads, steam roads, swift, easy, safe and cheap transportation, have helped to do away with the need of many colleges. Local relations have therefore lost force, and consolidation, or at least a second confederation of colleges, has become a rational proposition. But it is to be remembered that not a few colleges possess buildings of great value. In many cases these buildings represent half a million of dollars. Of course, too, successive generations of students have formed lasting and intimate associations with these local habitations. To secure compensation for such pecuniary and personal sacrifice as would be caused by removal would always be difficult and sometimes impossible. But, despite all this reasoning, the principle of confederation should have a larger place. Individualism in the founding and administration of colleges and universities has been carried too far. The methods prevailing in our industrial system should be more extensively employed in the educational. The success of confederation at the University of Toronto gives ground for the confidence that a similar movement could be adopted advantageously in certain of the new estates.

Despite intimation to the contrary, the present relations between institutions of all three classes are on the whole intimate and harmonious. Instances are not unknown in which the private and denominational colleges have consulted with some fear and trembling, respecting the increasing power of the State universities. But the purpose has been less to limit the power and opportunity of the State institutions than to open new opportuni-

ties and to increase its power for entering into opportunities, with which the private college cannot so fittingly enter. Each of these three types of college university is to abide. The need in most States is not for more numerous colleges of any one type; the need is for better colleges of every type. In any Commonwealth, or in any country, there can safely be as many colleges as can be made or kept good. A bad college should be used as a bad debt; it should be stricken off the list of assets, only if it cannot be made good. The fit college will survive; the unfit college should make itself fit to survive.

As an illustration of the harmony of relations existing between colleges, I wish to quote from two letters, written by the presidents of the two principal institutions of the State of Iowa. The first is from President MacLean, of the State University, and the second from the president of Iowa College, the Congregational College at Grinnell. President MacLean says, "To draw civilization out of the depths of ignorance we need the three-fold cord of private, church and State education in the never-ending contest of liberty with tyranny; we must have the same three-fold cable to make a cordon against the dominance of tyranny. When the private institution is constrained to hamper freedom under the pressure of a private patron, or the church institution to sacrifice freedom to ecclesiastical policies or dogmas, then we must hold to the State strand for freedom. When the politicians would constrain freedom in the State institution, then we must depend upon the one or the other of the first institutions to save the day. The community of interests among these institutions, each having a special cause for existence, is greater than their diversity of interest. It is as shameful for the institutions of culture not to have cordial relations and to propagate sweetness and light, as it is for the so-called Christian denominations to quarrel. There is work enough for all; and to repeat myself, a relation should be one of comity. To enter upon details, one must know the particular State; for the relations will vary with the history of each State. The patriotism of Statehood should co-ordinate its institutions to do a special work for the State, and to make its contributions to the Federal Union, and over and above that, to the republic of letters. It especially falls to the university by law established, and supported by the State, to maintain the highest standard, and to be a crown of the public-school system. At the same time, the State university must recognize that the other colleges are its constituency, and it must endeavor to serve them. In this State, through the college section of the State Teachers' Association, of which the university is a member, through certain standing committees, we administer the tests as to what makes a recognition of a standard college; we promote common entrance requirements; and the university, by the inspection of schools,

the results of which are freely given to the other colleges, saves them all as well as itself."

In turn President Bradley, of Iowa College, at Grinnell, says, "My feeling about the relation of the State university and private or denominational college is that they supplement each other. Between them there should be the most cordial and friendly relations. As a matter of fact, Iowa College and Iowa State University and Agricultural College are on very friendly terms. We do a work which cannot be done at a State university, and the State covers a wide field which we do not expect to enter. The State University, for instance, cannot teach religion; and it must needs be limited in that direction. It must also have some regard to the ideas of the dominant political party, and its teachers are not entirely free to teach or utter views repugnant to the majority controlling the Legislature, which appropriates money for their support. The private or denominational college is freer in all these lines, and it is a constant force steadying and strengthening the best scholastic development of State educational institutions, enabling them to maintain themselves against political and educational charlitanry. But for the private college, State institutions would be likely to require lower standards in their work, under the pressure of popular demand; and I have no doubt that the present splendid development of State schools is due to the fact that private universities insist upon keeping the standard high and making it still higher year by year. The private or denominational college, too, is stimulated by the State institution. It cannot be narrow and sectarian, and hold its own. It must use every effort to enlist men of means in its behalf. The two systems are thus together causing the torch of learning to burn brightly, and to induce thousands of young people to secure higher education. If I had my own way I would not hinder any of these schools or hamper them, but encourage them all. A better understanding is coming among all school men, and less jealousy. I have no quarrel whatever with the schools maintained by the State."

Not in every Commonwealth does such harmony of relations exist between the president of the State university and the president of its chief private and denominational college. But such harmony is becoming more common and stronger. The increasing power of any college in a State should mean the increasing power of every other. When the State university of Colorado or California is making rapid progress, the private or denominational college should not lessen State appropriations to the State institution, but should quicken their own life and enlarge their own resources.

That this course actually has been adopted in these States, is an added reason for confidence in the future relation of the three types of institution in the Central West.

THE TRUSTS AND THE PUBLIC

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THE discussion now going on in regard to the regulation of large corporations, popularly known as "trusts," would probably be more intelligent if there were a more careful definition of the objects sought and a more definite understanding of the interests to be served by such regulation. There has been so much of passionate declamation on the one hand and so much of strong resentment on the other that the true issues have been to a large extent obscured in a mist which the thoughtful voter will find it difficult to penetrate if it is not cleared away before he is called upon to vote on the subject next autumn. It is obviously for the interests of those who have really anything at stake, whether as the promoters of important enterprises, as investors in securities, or simply as the consumers of "trust-made goods," that all sides of the question should be fairly presented and dispassionately considered.

The biblical mandate,—“Come now, let us reason together,”—should be given a sufficiently broad application to include a recognition of concrete facts as well as abstract principles. It has been one of the distinguishing qualities of the Anglo-Saxon peoples,—which has marked them off from their Latin rivals,—that they have not been too hasty to adopt abstractions as a rule of action. They have shown a respect for “vested rights,” even when those rights have grown into abuses, which has deprived their political progress of such picturesque episodes as the abolition of the old calendar, the voting away of privileges in a night, and the tearing open of the sepulchres of kings, which marked the Revolution in France, but has contributed on the whole to their more solid progress in the difficult art of linking economic development and the security of property with government by universal suffrage.

In dealing with the problems growing out of new economic developments, there is no reason to doubt that the American people will in the long run proceed with the same sobriety, sanity and respect for their real interests with which they have proceeded to the solution of similar problems in the past. With a presidential campaign at hand, however, care should be taken to guard against hasty judgments and above all against reasoning to an apparently sound conclusion from premises which are falsely assumed. If the premise is sound, that all large corporations are inimical by their very essence to the economic, political or moral life of the nation, a means will be found for destroying them. If this premise is not sound, but if only certain phases of corporation management, and not all, are injurious to the national welfare, then care should be taken in removing the unsound timbers so that the majestic fabric of our economic power, which makes us

the admiration and envy of all peoples, is not weakened or brought down in ruins.

It is not proposed in this article to exhaust, or to seek to exhaust, the subject of regulating large corporations. It is a subject which is not likely to be exhausted this year nor the next,—perhaps not within the time of men now living. It is proposed here simply to submit a few considerations on certain phases of the subject which have thus far perhaps been given less weight than they deserve.

In clearing the ground of the rubbish of much of the current discussion, it is desirable that certain distinctions should be made as to the objects sought by further regulation of corporations. One of the distinctions which the advocates of further regulation may fairly be asked to make is whether their essential object is the protection of the investor or the consumer. It is obvious that these two interests might be quite antagonistic. It is to the interest of the investor, in a narrow sense at least, to get as much from the public as he can by means of large profits and exclusive privileges for the corporations whose stocks or bonds he holds. It is the interest of the consumer, on the other hand, to limit the profits of the investor and to restrict the privileges of the corporation whose products he desires to use.

From a broad point of view there is a certain harmony of interest even where there appears to be antagonism, since a far-sighted corporate management will seek on the one hand to keep profits below a point which will create new competitors and, on the other hand, will seek to steadily enlarge its market by offering products at prices which are attractive to consumers. These influences, however, are the result of natural economic forces whose sufficiency in preventing abuses is denied by those who advocate further regulation of the corporations than that afforded by existing laws. From the standpoint of the advocates of regulation, therefore, there should be a sharp distinction drawn between legislation for the investor and that for the consumer, if any intelligent progress is to be made. It is rather remarkable that recent criticism of the corporations has turned more upon what the investor has suffered from the decline in values and the flotation of doubtful securities than upon the injury which has been done by corporate exactions to the consumer; yet, by a strange confusion of reasoning, the prejudice caused to the investor by these events, in the cutting of prices, the fall in values, and the collapse of weak concerns, instead of being welcomed as bringing tardy justice to the consumer, is used as one of the weapons in the general crusade in the consumer's behalf.

That regulation of corporations by law is to a certain degree necessary and desirable, is a recognized principle of our legal policy. Corporations are the creatures of the law because their shareholders are dowered by the

law with the privilege of limited liability and the corporations themselves are given the advantages of perpetual life. Heretofore, however, the several States have been left to regulate corporations as they saw fit, and their regulation has been in many cases eminently efficient. They have so far protected the holders of insurance by careful definitions of their rights that the varied forms of policies have been reduced to a nearly uniform income basis. They exercise the power of visitation over State banks, as the Federal Government does over national banks. In many cases, they collect special taxes upon corporate franchises and earnings, which would have to be renounced if this form of taxation were adopted by the Federal Government. Such legislation has been the result of experience. It did not spring forth fully formed, with the birth of insurance companies and State banks. It has become more nearly perfect in those States where these institutions have attained their greatest development, and its history may well afford an index for the future to those who are not too impatient of the reasoned deliberation of Anglo-Saxon methods in dealing with such subjects.

If there is to be, therefore, further regulation of large corporations, and especially the extension of Federal control over State corporations, it will contribute something to clearness of thinking and precision in action if the ends sought,—whether the protection of the investor or the protection of the consumer,—are clearly defined and separately considered.

It is obvious, from the side of the investor, that his protection by law implies that he shall be protected against investments in securities which have not the value they purport to have. It means additional guarantees that dividends which are not earned shall not be paid, and that proper provision shall be made by setting aside reserves in fat times for the payment of dividends in lean times. These are desirable objects, but they are already sought by the corporation laws of the States where corporate business is largest. It is a question whether the protection of the investor in the future should not proceed along the lines of his economic education rather than along the lines of new restrictions upon corporations. Just so far as the Government relieves the citizen of the obligation of looking out for himself, it promotes a condition of dependence upon the State which is detrimental to genuine economic progress. Ample illustrations of this may be found in the history of corporation law in such countries as France and Germany. The French law requires any foreign corporation entering upon business in France to obtain from the French Consul in the country where the corporation is authorized a certificate of its incorporation. The certificate means nothing as to the solvency and earning power of the corporation, but it puts upon paper corporations the stamp of the signed declaration of the French Consul that they are legally consti-

tuted in a foreign country. While such a circumstance does not mislead the intelligent financier, with ignorant investors the intervention of the French law has proved a positive aid to adventurers in perpetrating frauds, because of their implicit reliance upon the value of an official certificate.

It is hardly possible that any body of law, however minute and however restrictive, could protect investors against the consequences of their ignorance in making investments. The essential thing is not to hamper legitimate corporations by new laws, but to teach the public to judge investments with discrimination. It is not possible in a progressive nation for the law to forbid the owners of capital from investing it in enterprises whose securities have not acquired the character of trust funds. Any such policy would mean that enterprise would come to a dead halt, for it would prevent rich men with money to spare from putting it into patents or enterprises promising great economies in production and benefits to the community, but not yet placed upon the solid investment basis of bank shares or railway bonds. The latter quality is acquired only by enterprises which have been subjected to the test of experience. Railway bonds themselves were an investment of a very uncertain character within the memory of many now living, but if the State had not permitted men with faith and foresight to invest in them we should be doing business still with the stage-coach and the post-road.

One of the primary lessons which the investor should be taught is the discrimination between different types of investment. He should learn that bonds have a prior lien over preferred stock and preferred stock over common stock. He should learn that these distinctions are necessary to meet the requirements of different types of investors,—the holder of trust funds, who should invest only in bonds and tested preferred stocks; the man who is willing to take slight risks and therefore may invest in preferred stocks of slightly lower reputation; and the man who for the sake of possible large gains, is willing and able to take large risks, and may therefore invest properly in the common stocks of untried "industrials" and undeveloped mines. The investor should learn the lesson that he cannot reasonably expect all these qualities to be combined in one investment,—that the securities which are absolutely safe are not usually the ones which are sold the cheapest and from which the largest returns may be expected. If the thousands of people who have within the past three years invested in some highly speculative common stocks and have seen their prices decline 75 per cent. in the market have been advised by competent financiers that such stock was a safe investment for trust funds or for those who could not afford to lose, they have just cause of complaint against their advisors; but if they had possessed a pittance of financial knowledge they should have known that the common stock of an untested enterprise, quoted far below

par, could not in the nature of the case possess the character of a trust investment. It is difficult to see how legislation could protect such a type of investors from the consequences of their ignorance.

A sound economic education would teach the public that high returns almost inevitably mean risk, and that the man who buys securities which have not reached the basis of trust funds should not invest more than he can afford to lose. In simple terms, speculation by people of small means should be discouraged, while sound investment should be encouraged. There is undoubtedly in America too much reckless and uninformed speculation, especially on margins. "One of the things which surprised me most," said an English guest at a dinner-table in New York last winter, in response to a question as to what impressed him especially in the American market, "is the amount of business you do on borrowed money." He referred to the speculation on margins which is so universal here among people of small means and which finds so slight a footing on the English stock exchanges.

It is likely to prove a task of Sisyphus to attempt to protect the public against foolish investments. Opportunities for investment will constantly assume new forms which will elude the most stringent law. The only thing which would finally extinguish speculation would be the reduction of all economic forces to certainties. This can never happen until economic efficiency attains its maximum development. It may attain this development in an ideal world, or it may attain it by the cessation of intellectual activity and enterprise in the existing world. The latter event,—when inventions cease, no new enterprises are born, and nations begin living upon their capital and falling behind their more ambitious rivals, is what is called by economists "the stationary state." Such a state in America would be the antithesis of the conditions of to-day; but one of the most effective conditions for bringing it about would be undue restrictions upon American ingenuity and enterprise with the object of protecting the reckless and improvident.

Even in a stationary economic state, there would be alternating periods of business expansion and contraction. With such periods stocks would rise and fall. Even if new enterprises of merit were stifled by law or by lack of enterprise, fantastic projects would be conceived for absorbing saved capital, like "the tulip mania" in Holland and the South Sea bubble in England. All that can be done for the investor by positive law is to protect him against palpable fraud. He cannot be protected against himself if he chooses to embark in speculative enterprises. As President Roosevelt has so tersely said, "About all we have a right to expect from Government is that it will see that the cards are not stacked.")

The direction in which capital shall flow is determined by competition. Where it proves profitable it continues to go. From where it proves unprofitable it withdraws. Intervention by the State which seeks to determine the direction of the flow of capital is likely to do harm by fettering industry and diverting capital from its most productive uses. In any case, laws regulating capital in the interest of the investor, when they go beyond legitimate protection against fraud, usually prove ineffective because they come after the evil which they seek to cure. They simply lock the stable-door after the horse is stolen.

Turning to another phase of the current discussion regarding the regulation of the trusts, we find that much is said in behalf of "publicity." "Publicity," in the minds of many, is the panacea which is to cure all ills by revealing to the fearless eye of the incorruptible official and to the sane, clear mind of the investor all the dark spots in corporate management. In so far as publicity prevents palpable fraud and insists upon certain sound rules in the organization of new companies, it undoubtedly serves a useful purpose. The purpose served, however, is to provide accurate data upon which the investor may base conclusions as to the earning power of properties. Provisions for such publicity as this are found in the existing laws of most of the States. Railways file reports with the railway boards of the States through which they run, and local corporations in nearly every State are required to make exhaustive statements of their earnings and assets to State officials.

Would further publicity be of value to the investor who is careless or over-optimistic? This is a question which should be thoughtfully considered by those who attach importance to publicity. Under the English law "publicity" has been carried so far ever since 1862 that the representative of a yellow journal or any other curious person has had access for a shilling to the registers of share companies, with authority to ascertain the exact number of shares held by each member with the amount which he has paid for them or failed to pay; yet this calcium light of "publicity" turned upon the business of the modest and honest rich man has not prevented gigantic frauds by his dishonest rivals, repeated losses by reckless speculators, or the necessity of further tinkering the general companies' acts more than sixteen times in a generation, independently of other acts relating to special classes of corporations. Would the man in America who proposes to take a "flyer" in "steel" or "cotton" be more likely than his English brother to be deterred or benefited by more publicity regarding those industries? The Steel Corporation already makes admirable reports quarterly and semi-official estimates of its earnings at much more frequent

intervals. In cotton the Government makes crop estimates which come in conflict with many private estimates. The complaints and charges of bad faith which these Government estimates engender are a suggestive hint of what might follow general Government supervision of industry.

If a man is determined to take foolish risks by buying speculative stocks when he cannot afford to lose, he is not likely to be stopped by anything short of actual prohibition by law. Does the demand for publicity, then, when submitted to analysis, mean a substitution of official judgment for private judgment? It is difficult to see what else it means, if the thoughtless speculator who hopes to make money by buying some stock "for a rise" is to be prevented from doing so when he is likely to suffer a loss. Shall his right to "take a flyer" in cotton be subordinated to the judgment of the chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Agriculture that the crop figures do not make cotton "a good buy"? If so, State socialism is enthroned at a bound in our political system.

Unfortunately, human foresight has not yet reached the point where it can be determined with certainty in every case whether a given course will bring a profit or a loss. The man who first invents the formula for determining this point will hold the world in the hollow of his hand. For him and for all to whom he confides his formula, speculation will cease.

Putting aside, then, the question of official control over private action, the residuum of the question seems to be, whether greater publicity than exists to-day would protect the reckless speculator against himself. Does such a man lose money because he cannot get information which he honestly seeks? When he gets a "tip" to "sell Pennsylvania," does he proceed at once to examine all the available data regarding the finances, policy and future earning capacity of the Pennsylvania Railroad? These data exist in the most accessible form which is possible, in official balance sheets printed broadside in the newspapers, and in elaborate detailed reports of operations, assets, train mileage and earning power per mile. If these data are neglected where they are now made public, would they be any more carefully studied, except by experts, when the mass of material to be examined was increased? Publicity in certain cases where there is now secrecy would undoubtedly benefit a few, but it would be the few who now profit most by careful study of values and by shrewd employment of their resources. But it is not these men who are calling most loudly for "publicity," and it is not they whom it is in the heart of the agitator against the "trusts" to serve. To "the man in the street" it is doubtful if publicity would be worth a dollar in increased profits or diminished losses,—whether, indeed, he would not be tempted into greater recklessness by the assurance that the

paternal hand of the Government had been laid for his protection upon every corporation brought under Federal law.

It is worthy of serious thought, whether in seeking the protection of the individual, there is not danger that we should enter on the narrow path of some of the continental countries, where interference by the State with corporate activity tends to stifle invention and to drive away capital. Not until July, 1903, was it possible in France to divide by law the shares of a corporation into common and preferred. Shares issued for anything but cash cannot be sold on the exchanges for two years. The securities of foreign corporations cannot be listed or even publicly sold in France without the payment of taxes which practically exclude them from the Paris bourse. As the result of such restrictions, the French masses have acquired in financial matters a degree of dependence upon the Government which has tended to take away their confidence in themselves. By the confession of thoughtful Frenchmen, capital tends to leave France for markets where it is more free, and the persistent thrift and intelligence of the French people does not find the productive outlets at home which would be found under a system of greater economic freedom.

For the protection of the investor, therefore, it is doubtful whether new laws would have value unless they stifled all the qualities which are giving America her predominance in the world of finance. The protection of the consumer presents another side of the problem. Will he be benefited by severe repressive legislation regarding investments and by giving publicity to all that is done by corporate authority? From a narrow standpoint it may be conceded that it is possible to take something for a limited time from the capitalist and the producer and hand it over to the consumer. The French National Assembly was able to take property from the nobility and turn it into the coffers of the nation. France and Mexico have been able to confiscate the property of the church and appropriate it to public uses. Italy, some years ago, converted a five per cent. bond into a net four per cent. obligation by imposing a tax of 20 per cent. upon incomes from securities; but the stock market promptly responded by reducing Italian securities to a price corresponding to their diminished net return. So it might be possible for the property of the Standard Oil Company or the Steel Corporation to be seized by the State or practically confiscated by excessive taxation and turned into the public treasury. But it is not such extreme measures that it is necessary to discuss. It is obvious that the attempt by the Government to fix maximum prices for commodities or to diminish by taxation the profits of industry, would yield only temporary results, because properties would be sold by their owners or abandoned when it became impossible to run them at a profit.

The essential question in regard to the consumer, therefore, is whether the community as a whole will secure in the long run a real economic gain by adopting restrictions on corporate activity or on the forms of investment. This is the crux of the problem,—whether the consumer will be benefited in the long run by measures which tend to repress inventive skill and enterprise by diminishing the profits of those who possess these qualities. The difference between a progressive nation and a receding one is chiefly the intellectual activity and inventive genius of the former. These qualities must, even in the most enlightened States, be the rare property of a limited number of individuals. In America, fortunately, the opportunity to enter their ranks is open practically to all men. But even under these favorable conditions the number of men who rise above the treadmill of daily routine, whose minds reach out to devise new mechanical appliances, great economies in railway and industrial management, and financial projects which carry out these economies, must ever remain a small fraction of the whole community. This being the case, the vital question is whether it is desirable to encourage the efforts of these men or to discourage them.]

How mighty is the influence of these few minds,—the inventors, the captains of industry, the resourceful authors of new financial combinations,—upon national economic progress is realized by few. Plodding industry, which must ever be the virtue of the mass of men, accomplishes much; it is the foundation upon which all else is built. But plodding industry alone does not utilize new forces; it does not harness Niagara; it does not keep a nation at the forefront in the race with industrial rivals. The Chinese and several of the Latin peoples are perhaps to-day the equals, if not the superiors, of Americans in their willingness to work and save; but these qualities are not sufficiently supplemented by those great powers of invention, initiative, and combination which give dominance in the modern world. The few who consecrate themselves to the development of these higher qualities do it often at the sacrifice of that ease of mind and domestic comfort which is the happy ideal of the normal man. When the clerk, who is content with his salary and his home, quits work at four or five o'clock, he usually leaves behind him all thought of his occupation, and he often leaves behind him, still busy at his desk, the captain of industry from whose waking and sleeping hours are never absent the worry over competition, the mental struggle for new methods of giving economy and efficiency to labor and to the distribution of capital.

It is the numbers and the success of these men,—their ability to work unfettered in a free economic field,—which determines whether a nation shall be great or little, whether it shall advance or recede,—whether its cities shall house throbbing life, like London or New York, or only gloomy

monuments of a buried past, like Carthage, Tyre, or Rome to-day. Great is the function of creation,—the greatest power given by God to man. It is a power which is rarely lodged in the State, and which, if assumed, usually brings forth ill-formed, impotent, hermaphrodite shapes. The utmost exercise of power by the modern State rarely results in creation. It may appropriate the creations of others; it may sometimes make wise use of their creations; but usually its power, even when wisely used, is simply repressive and destructive,—it is not creative. Jealously, therefore, should its encroachments be watched, that it may not stifle or repress that creative power which is the seed of the growth of nations.

It should not be forgotten that, palpable fraud aside, these men with the genius for invention and combination cannot succeed themselves without giving something to the community. Even some of their operations which seem questionable cannot be well restricted by law unless their entire activity is to be restricted. To issue common stock which is not as well secured as preferred stock or bonds is not fraud. On the contrary, to the merest tyro in finance the fact is proclaimed by such an issue that it does not claim to be as good as preferred stock or bonds. Those who buy it are not entitled to much sympathy where they enter the stock market simply as gamblers and not even as intelligent speculators upon market conditions, in the hope that they will profit by some other man's blunder and will put in their own pockets an unearned increment which he has lost.

The State cannot correct such folly as this except by interference which would stifle enterprise. The men who conceive such enterprises and who have the capital or the courage to take risks are the ones to whom the profit or the loss should accrue. If other men having money which they can afford to lose see fit to share with them the risks of loss or the possibilities of profit, there is no reason why the law should intervene. Only by taking such risks does the world make progress. The man who invents something which does not involve a real economy,—whether it is a mechanical device, a parallel railway line or an inflated and useless "merger,"—cannot take anything for himself from the community as a whole if his project involves no net gain to the community. If there is no net gain, he loses what he invests in the enterprise. If there is a net gain, then the question reduces itself to this,—whether its present distribution shall be so changed that the public shall get a larger share of the fruits of this man's thought and risk and he shall get a smaller share. Under the least favorable conditions, the public, as consumers, cannot fail to obtain some share, since it is necessary to offer them something more economical than they have had before in order to induce them to accept the thing which is new.

If a man invents a new engine which is more costly and less economical in operation than the old ones, no railway company will buy it from him, however skilful and interesting its mechanism. If a shopkeeper offers a new device for raising bread, no housewife will buy it more than once if she finds that it costs more and yields poorer results than the device she has been using. The new device must be either offered at a lower cost or with a higher degree of economy and efficiency than the old in order to find a market. The principle may seem less simple when extended to the formation of stock companies and the floating of preferred securities, debenture stock, and convertible bonds, but its essence is the same. The man who perfects a new system of railway management or a new financial combination cannot profit in the long run if the enterprise itself does not involve some increase in the producing power of the community or some economy in the use or distribution of capital.

For the consumer, therefore, it is doubtful if further State intervention would bring permanent benefits. Spoliation might profit him for a moment, but only to make his last state worse than his first by suppressing the spirit of improvement which is the ultimate source of progress. What the State should do if it goes beyond its present functions, is to give an economic education to those who desire to enter the financial world. It should teach them the fundamental principles that the dividends of an enterprise are inversely to its safety; that speculation on margins should only be indulged in when one has money to lose; and that investments should be made only after careful study of the value of properties from the sources of publicity which already lie open to him who cares to read them.

Upon the question whether larger powers to control corporations should be conferred on the Federal authorities there are also two sides. With the unification of national life and the wiping out of distances by the railway and the telegraph, there is much to be said in favor of uniformity in business methods and control. Uniformity always has a charm for the type of mind which is severely logical. England has a general corporation law. Issues of new stock and bonds are recorded at Somerset House and the aggregate corporate capital of the nation can be ascertained there. But in England corporations are not to any appreciable extent the playthings of politics. The laws regarding corporations are largely influenced there by the crystallized opinion of experts. Rarely, if ever, since England attained her commanding industrial position has the question of controlling corporations been a subject of division between Lombard Street, where the corporations are financed, and the agricultural interests of Northumberland or Devonshire. Never perhaps in modern times has an organized campaign been made for the regulation of corporations against the opinions of "Lom-

bard Street " and upon the ground that those opinions were unworthy of consideration.

If similar conditions existed in this country,—if the views of "Wall Street " on changes in the corporation law were always attentively listened to at Washington and were accepted as a guide in framing legislation, subject only to the modifications suggested by disinterested economic experts,—then perhaps legislation which was at once sane and strong might be secured from the fountain-head of Federal power. There is hardly any more drastic legislation in the world than that of the English companies acts against the formation of fraudulent and unsound companies; but it is legislation intended for the protection of the investor, with few traces of a purpose to hamper legitimate companies in the conduct of their business with the end of regulating the price of their products. This sort of regulation, which in Great Britain has accompanied centralized control of corporations, is hardly that which appeals to those who seek to diminish corporate power in the United States. The last thing in the world to which they wish to give weight is the opinion of Wall Street or even of the anathematized students of abstract economics.

While it does not perhaps follow from the example of Great Britain that subjecting corporations to Federal control would give them more power over legislation than they now possess, there are forces which might be brought into play which would tend towards this result. There is reason to fear also that this influence would not be felt in the same direct and open way as in Great Britain, where the influence of "the city " is considered legitimate and goes unremarked, but that a less open and more questionable power would be acquired by the monied interests when they had to deal with a single legislative body, instead of dealing as they do to-day with forty-five legislative bodies.

The concentration at Washington of all power over corporations, including the granting of franchises by law, their regulation by executive boards, and their interpretation by Federal courts, would make possible a crystallization of the power of corrupt influences such as has never before been possible in the history of the world. It would surpass in some ways the concentrated power of corruption which was practiced at Rome when Jugurtha was able to declare it a city where everything, even national honor, was sold, and where republican government finally perished because of the enormous bribes which were offered to the voters by the generals and speculators who had appropriated the spoils of the world. The advocates of sweeping changes in the control of corporations should at least measure the possibilities of danger in transferring to the Federal capital the great forces of corruption which make our city governments in many cases

the plague-spots of our political system, and which make State legislatures too often the tools of those who seek to buy great franchises.

Public opinion, if concentrated upon Washington, instead of diffused over forty-five State capitals, would undoubtedly break out at times in resentment against some glaring abuse, but would it be able to follow all the sinuous paths of corrupt influences through committee-rooms and executive offices? Men in public office are only human. If the prospect of a few thousands going to favored contractors was sufficient recently to seduce the virtue of several of the underpaid heads of bureaus in the Post-office Department and to permit them, through complacent collusion, to carry on frauds for years without discovery, what would be the influence upon a bureau of corporations of projects involving millions,—where the change of a comma or a phrase, even a not unreasonable delay in making a decision,—might enrich a corrupt or weak official, with hardly the possibility of detection?

Every financier knows how important are what seem to be most trifling things in determining the value of a franchise or in getting ahead of a competitor. If a comfortable fortune were the compensation sometimes attainable for merely delaying or hastening a decision, who shall say that Federal officials at Washington, with salaries ranging from \$2,500 up to \$4,000 for the most exacting and responsible duties, would always be impervious to such temptation? They would hold in their hands a power of extortion such as has never been surpassed. How serious an obstacle may be interposed to corporate plans even by delay is shown by the long litigation over the United States Steel bonds which were issued in exchange for preferred stock. It was a commendable act on the part of Mr. Morgan to determine to resist the buccaneers who undertook to check the plans of the corporation by "strike suits," but in making the decision to fight rather than to pay he probably condemned the corporation by the decline in the value of the bonds between the date when their issue was first proposed and the date when the decision of the courts finally permitted them to be put upon the market, to a loss of many millions.

When to the risk of individual corruption at Washington came to be added that of political corruption, the dangers lurking in concentrated Federal control of corporations would be even more serious. The power to assess the Federal officeholders has been availed of more than once to fill the campaign chest of a party in office. If this power of assessment could be extended to the great corporations of the country, under the threat that they would get too much "publicity" in its most harassing form if they did not contribute, representative government would be subject to a menace greater than any it has yet encountered since it was born in Great Britain eight centuries ago in the struggle between King and Parliament. A party

once installed in power, using without scruple its ability to levy contributions upon the corporations, and to distribute these levies like the Roman corn-grants, as gratuities among the poorer voters, would be a self-perpetuating body more absolute for a time at least than the most absolute of voting trusts. For the latter operates under the law and subject to the law, while the former would be above all law or fear of law except that of the paying power of its victims. The American people should at least be very sure that the evils to be cured are greater than those which the remedy itself would bring, before they turn with too light a heart to so portentous a change in the constitutional system of checks and balances established by our fathers, with blood and prayer, that ours might be a Government of laws and not of men.

The considerations which are presented here do not constitute an argument against intelligent discussion of further legislation on the problem of the corporations. Within the States the corporation laws can probably be improved in many cases in the interest of the investor. In the nation perhaps some simple laws might be enacted for the protection of the consumer without disturbing the rights of the shareholder. It would be as idle for the shareholders in corporations to claim that we are already living in an ideal world as it would be for their critics to seek to go back to the time when limited liability was almost unknown and when safe investments were confined to Government bonds.

Few will contend that we are living in a world in which economic forces can be trusted to work out absolutely unfettered by law those economic harmonies, perfect as the music of the spheres, which were the dream of Bastiat. What is here written is set down simply to promote intelligent discrimination in the effects of proposed legislation, careful weighing of the hidden dangers as well as the obvious results of extending Federal control too far and too rapidly, and dispassionate consideration of all aspects of the great problem of best protecting the individual American without impairing his freedom of thought and action and his right to the proceeds of his labor. There should be clearer thinking, less blind hostility to wealth, whether in individual or corporate form, and absolute definitions of what is sought by new measures, whether it be simply protection for the investor or the consumer or the destruction of industries and property. Those who are not impelled by the latter purpose shall take care not to be made cat's-paws by those who are.

If momentary prejudice and desire for political capital are excluded from consideration, it is at least questionable whether the time is ripe for new legislation of a drastic character in regard to corporations. It is apparent that important interests are timorous as to the effects of such legislation

upon business and investments. Whether they are right or wrong in this timidity, it may fairly be said that the burden of proof in favor of any specific Federal law should be put upon those who advocate it. Business interests should not stand in the way of the national life or well-being. Where a clear need exists for legislation which is injurious or dangerous to them, those interests must give way. Their willingness to make such a sacrifice has been shown on many occasions. To name but one, in 1861 the associated banks of New York willingly came to the aid of the Government when a public loan could not well be floated and acceded to the demand that they should pay the instalments of their temporary loan into the Sub-treasury in coin instead of by the usual methods of transferring credit, although they well knew and emphatically declared that in submitting to this ill-advised demand of Secretary Chase, they were impairing their coin reserves and inviting the suspension of specie payments with its Pandora's box of evils.

If a similar necessity exists to-day for Federal legislation inimical to business interests, those interests should give way; but if there is no such clear necessity, and if the remedies for supposed evils are inchoate and their results are dubious, it is not apparent why legislation should be insisted upon pending careful consideration of the entire subject in all its bearings, economic, political and financial, including observation of like experiments in other countries. When ills assail the State, her best citizens are bound to seek for remedies; but when such remedies are proposed, the burden should lie upon their proposers to prove that they are real and not quack remedies. In the absence of a great and present menace to the national life, they should be adopted only after they have been carefully weighed by sane and temperate men and their benefits in their minds clearly and greatly outweigh the risks of change.

It is delicate work to experiment with industry. Business men and financiers are trained through life for such work. They must by the nature of their occupation make experiments and take the consequences of their blunders and their discoveries. It is doubtful if Government officials can more skilfully make these experiments. If tempted to use their great powers rashly, without fully weighing the consequences, they should reflect that

“ It is excellent

To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous

To use it like a giant.”

when by so doing they may arrest the wheels of industry, spread terror and paralysis through the world of trade and above all stifle and pervert that fine spirit of foresight, initiative and intelligent daring which are the distinguishing traits of the American man of business, and have made possible the imperial progress of our country during more than a century of internal industrial freedom.

GERMANY, FRANCE AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE

GENERAL RICCIOTTI GARIBALDI.

ROME

WHEN the allies dismembered the Empire of Napoleon I., at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was generally thought necessary to weaken France by confiscating part of her original territory. With a profound knowledge or perception of French character, Wellington, however, protested forcibly against any such step, and in an official paper gave as reason for his protest that the French, by ceaseless agitation to regain their lost provinces, would keep all Europe in a state of tension more serious in its effects than any war.

That Wellington saw clearly, has been proved by the history of Europe from 1871 to the present day. Bismarck lacked the wisdom of the English statesman; or perhaps allowed his Pangermanic aspirations to overcome his caution. However that may be, he prepared, for his own country and for all Europe, a future the central figure in which was to be a France, not only wounded in her dignity as a military state, but ever eager to avenge her loss of position and prestige.

It is quite true that France herself had set a bad example when she forced the Piedmontese Kingdom to cede Savoy and Nice to her. For this action there was little excuse; for the intervention of France in the Austrian war had been financially liquidated by the Piedmontese state. The cession of these two provinces, opposed strongly but too late by the English Government, was in fact a personal compensation, exacted by Napoleon III., for his failure to obtain an Italian kingdom for his relative *Plon-Plon*. This exaction, as I have heard eminent statesmen maintain, cost France Alsace and Lorraine.

It would have been providential indeed if the other Powers had called to mind the prophetic words of Lord Wellington, and had consequently opposed and prevented even the partial dismemberment of France. But Germany, with the impenitent Bismarck at her head, had even more drastic measures in view. She prepared to reduce France, by a second war, to a condition in which it would have been impossible for her to regain her lost provinces perhaps for centuries. English interference, a fact that Frenchmen generally forget, prevented what might have been the destruction of France as a first-class power.

Since this check the Germans have worked ceaselessly to consolidate their position as against that of France. Crispi's feminine sensitiveness to ridicule they have used very cleverly to drag Italy into the Triple Alli-

ance. In spite of the new Russian friendship with France, they have kept up the cordiality which has always existed between Berlin and St. Petersburg. Even Turkey, which the cautious German mind recognized before the other Powers as a factor in possible European complications; even Turkey has been made much of to such an extent that German influence at Constantinople is equal, if not superior, to that of any other Power. No pains have been spared to pacify even the French, and though German diplomacy has always refused to recognize officially an open "Question" as to Alsace-Lorraine, yet it has been made clear by indirect means that Germany might relinquish a portion of these provinces if France would finally give up the rest.

With a pertinacity for which the world would scarce have given her credit, France on her side has been steadily strengthening her position; first by joining Russia in an alliance which probably means only a territorial guarantee; second by re-establishing her old relations with Italy, and finally by meeting England in a friendly spirit in the many vexatious questions which have come up during the extension of their colonial possessions. Especially in southern Egypt and in Morocco, France has made possible a cordial state of things which lately culminated, not so much in the personal reception given by the Parisians to King Edward, as in the very warm greeting given to President Loubet in London. Thus France, as well as Germany, has steadily prepared for what each intuitively understands will be the final resolution of the rivalry which has existed between them for centuries.

Though the idea of revenge has lost, for the French mind, something of its idealistic charm through having been used as a battle-cry by the anti-Republican parties, it was never more deeply rooted in the French heart. How true this is the following anecdote may suggest: In a friendly chat one day with M. Delcasse, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, the writer of this article ventured to ask why France had given way so early to England in the Fashoda affair. The Minister answered almost angrily, "Cannot you understand that, while France and Germany balance each other in their land forces, France is much the stronger on the sea? A war with England would probably have meant, if nothing else, the loss of our navy, the only thing in which we are superior to Germany. Rather than risk that, I was ready to submit to any humiliation." These words show the feeling of all France, her ever-burning desire to wipe out the effects and even the remembrance of "L'annee terrible."

The ever-existing fear of complications that may arise from the unsettled relations between these two powerful European states has forced every other nationality into enormous expenditure for armament. As this excessive

expenditure has necessitated severe taxation, which has weighed mainly on the laboring classes, these have sought refuge either in emigration—which has so enormously increased in recent years—or in the powerful, defensive Socialist organizations; and curiously enough the government whose want of political foresight was mainly responsible for this state of things, is the one that has suffered most. In fact, while entire Prussian provinces are almost depopulated by ever-increasing emigration, the Socialists, nearly doubling their seats in the last German elections, have become the second party in the Reichstag. It is easy to foresee a time when they will be in an overwhelming majority. Meanwhile, each European unit has to face the fact that the question of Alsace-Lorraine is more likely than any other to create a convulsion which may greatly modify the existing state of things in Europe.

It would be useless, in an article of this kind, to discuss the technical bearings of the military question between Germany and France. As the difference which exists between the material and training of one army and of the other is slight in itself, we may take as conclusive the opinion of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the two armies well balance each other. On the sea the question also remains as the Minister stated. How long it will remain unchanged, must depend on how much each state is disposed to spend on its naval armament, keeping in mind, however, that France, through her far greater national wealth, can the better afford an increased expenditure.

Under these circumstances, in case of a conflict, which side is most likely to win? Leaving aside the sea, the answer to this question may perhaps be found in considering how far the racial requirements of the several combatants are satisfied.

The racial difference between the strong, heavy, flat-footed Teuton, and the rather slight, nervous and elastic Latin, is very marked; and each requires a different treatment to bring out to perfection his combative qualities. With personal courage which may be placed at par with that of the French, the German soldier has a different way of showing it. Less capable of enthusiasm, he loses in a great measure the advantage of those moments of mental excitement produced by a word from his superior, by a popular air, or by the many other means by which men on the battlefield can be hypnotized or can hypnotize each other; moments of actual madness, which make men forget all danger and which give them that irresistible dash which clever *condottieri* are so careful to excite, and which Napoleon I. himself created and used with such masterly art.

Certainly the slow, I might say cold-blooded, persistency of the Teuton is, in itself, an enormous force; but the time which it takes to act gives a

certain advantage to the quick and nervous Latin. I remember, for instance, the first of the three days of battle around Dijon, in January, 1871, when wave after wave of Germans threw themselves against the French lines. The old *condottiero* of more than forty battlefields, General Giuseppe Garibaldi, who commanded that wing of the French army, watched them as they came on like an irresistible tide, only to fall in heaps of dead and wounded; and as he watched with a countenance on which the most intense admiration was stamped, he broke out at last, "Ah, these are splendid soldiers, indeed!" And so they were. But later the same day, the same troops lost one-fifth of their men and half their officers, and were actually hustled out of the village of Messigny by an inferior number of irregular *Franc-tireurs*, who had crept close to them unseen, and dashed at them in gallant style.

It was certainly splendid two days later to see the Sixty-first Pomeranian Regiment moving across the plain, absolutely without cover, to attack the French position at Pouilly. Not a man was an inch out of place, except when the French bullets knocked them over. But it could only end as it did, by that splendid regiment losing a third of its effective men, and, worse still, its flag—the only flag lost by the German army in that campaign. I greatly doubt whether any Latin troops could have made such an attack. It proved the Teuton capable of a vast amount of discipline. But discipline so excessive does not admit of flurry or of hurry; and so, when met by a lively enemy who, though undisciplined, is led by a popular leader, discipline gets the worst of it, as was clearly shown when such famous generals as Werder and Manteufel not only failed to drive back the irregular forces under Garibaldi, but were very considerably harassed by his surprise *coups* of Chatillon-sur-Seine, Auxonne and Baigneux-les-Juifs, and were met and defeated on the battlefields of Talant, Messigny, Pouilly, Autun and Lantenay.

That arch-organizer, von Moltke, had planned and carried out even the minutest detail of that campaign in the best style and with the best discipline. But how sensitive the whole thing was! From its very perfection, it seemed more like delicate clockwork than rough warfare, as was shown by the general flutter in German military circles when the surprise of Chatillon took place. Even twenty days after, says the report of the German General Staff, some 30,000 troops were still being moved backwards and forward to "cover the threatened lines of communication."

Such facts as these put the reader in a position to judge between regulars and irregulars, and to see the advantage which the elasticity, resulting from want of excessive discipline, gives to irregulars when under the hand of a clever leader. Regulars are very often in the position of electric trams that

go perfectly under normal conditions, but are reduced to a helpless weight by being thrown even slightly out of gear. On the other hand, as even the official military mind has recognized since the Boer war, irregulars, when decently led, are tough and aggressive enough to defeat even the best regulars. For this reason the Latin, when roused by a popular leader, does not require the discipline necessary for the Teuton, in whom enthusiasm must be replaced by discipline, red-tape, and regulations. If, therefore, we accept the dictum of the French Minister that the German and French armies balance each other in organization, in number, and in a certain sort of discipline, we may conclude that the result of a war between the two countries would probably depend on a state of things over which red tape could have little influence, that is, on the existence of a leader of the French army suited to the peculiar temperament of the people.

We are now perhaps prepared to take into consideration the European situation in the midst of which a Franco-German war would be fought. The fate of the Old World has always been decided around the Mediterranean; and it seems a fatal necessity for every European race to battle for its supremacy. That the different nations of Europe possess even fragments of its shores is the main cause for such restless activity as that of France, England and Spain in Morocco; of France and England in Egypt; of Russia, England, France and Germany in Asia Minor; of Russia, Austria and Germany in European Turkey; of Austria, Germany, Russia and Italy in the Balkan peninsula and the Adriatic Sea, and of Italy, France and Germany in Tripoli and Cirenaica; not to mention the differing views of Italy and France as to Tunis, Corsica and Nice; of France and England as to the Balearic Isles; of Italy and England as to Malta; and of Greece and Turkey as to portions of the Turkish Empire.

"A pretty kettle of fish," the reader will say. So it is. And curiously enough, the difficulty of coming to any agreement over these questions enables potentates who are utterly opposed to Christian civilization to maintain their power on the Mediterranean. In fact, the Sheriff of Morocco and the Sultan of Turkey are safer on their thrones than the Czar of Russia or the Kaiser of Germany; for the disappearance of the two first would probably mean a European war over the division of the spoils, while the disappearance of the last would cause only internal disturbances in their respective states. But returning to the contestants over the Mediterranean basin, let us divide them into two groups: those who wish to become possessors, and those who are already in possession. In the first group may be classed Germany and Russia, in the second, France, England and Italy. This is at present the natural division of the European Powers, and this division will probably be the key to future contingencies in Europe.

At a semi-official banquet given at Dijon some eight or ten years ago the writer ventured to prophesy that an alliance between England, France and Italy was the only arrangement capable of maintaining the peace of Europe. The present state of feeling between these countries, culminated in the warm receptions accorded to the heads of these states when any of them have visited the capitals of each other, proves that if this alliance is not already a fact, it is on the point of becoming so.

Almost the only reason which prevents the speedy culmination of the alliance of England, Italy and France, is the enormous amount of French money invested in Russian securities. It was certainly a great mistake on the part of Italy and England to have allowed France to feel her isolated so bitterly after the war of 1870-71. And Russia was wise enough to take advantage of this unfortunate position to draw from France, with a deceptive show of friendship, the milliards of francs necessary for completing Russian internal organization. This chain, composed of enormous investments of French savings in Russian loans, is a heavy weight round the neck of France, a weight which deprives her of independent action; for the French Government would dare to face the loss which a rupture with Russia, and the consequent decline in Russian values, would entail on the French population. This state of things is very unfortunate for France. Did it not exist, she might already have placed herself between a friendly England and a friendly Italy, and so have found her long-desired opportunity to settle accounts with Germany. But the fact that there are still some small disagreements between these three states, may perhaps give France the time necessary to regain her independence of action with regard to Russia.

Of the disagreements in question, those between France and Italy are the cause of some dissatisfaction in the latter country. Italy has received no compensation, either material or moral, for the loss of Corsica, Nice and Tunis, not to mention Savoy; and if, at one moment, it seemed that commercial facilities might calm the Italian mind, a recent French law, raising the duties on food, gives so severe a blow to Italian exportations that it will take some time to reach a completely friendly understanding.

As for Italy and England, their friendship is unshadowed, except by the Maltese language question which the Cabinet at St. James' has allowed to appear on the horizon. This question was probably first raised by some pompous Anglo-Indian who, on his way to England, was ruffled by the fact that English was not the paramount language in the law courts of Malta. Subsequently there was sent to London an official report in which the heads of Maltese families were cited by the English officials as having expressed a preference for the use of English in the schools, as if these worthy fathers

were likely to give any answer but the one which they knew would please those in whose hands lay their future welfare. On such flimsy evidence, the English Government has acted in a way that seems likely to add to the sum of blunders that English statesmen have lately been accumulating.

Such blunders, however, can have no effect on the good understanding existing between the two countries, an understanding based, for one thing, on England's need of English aid. Italy is weakened by a very extended coast line, the defence of which would require a naval force beyond her power to create; she must look, therefore, for safety to the enormous fleet of England, a fleet whose constant readiness to help is proved by the following incident from Admiral Hewet's time. French feeling toward Italy being then acutely hostile, it was supposed that France meditated a descent on Italy's chief naval arsenal in the Gulf of Spezzia; and information was conveyed to Admiral Hewet, commanding the English Mediterranean fleet, to the effect that this descent was on the point of taking place. The worthy admiral, evidently acting on orders previously received, raced with his ironclads across the Mediterranean, only to be met at Genoa by Italian authorities who asked him in astonishment, "Where is the enemy?"

But if England's friendship is a necessity for Italy, Italy's friendship is no less a necessity for England, if she intends keeping in her own hands the route through the Suez canal to the East and to her Indian Empire. Even if exaggerated, the American news of the construction of a cannon which can send shell to a distance of thirty miles, and of another that will fire eight hundred one-pound bullets a minute, prepares the sentence of condemnation for Malta and Gibraltar. Given the above-mentioned guns, carried to a ten-inch calibre and firing only one hundred explosive shells a minute, and no fortifications, however cyclopean, could stand the tremendous pounding. It would, therefore, be only a question of time and opportunity for an active enemy to make it at least very difficult for the British ironclads to renew their coal and other necessities, or to repair damages, at their Mediterranean naval bases.

Italy, on the other hand, is fortunate in possessing fortified ports such as Spezzia, Maddalena, and the Straits of Messina, as well as the Gulf of Naples, which can be defended from points at a distance from the docks, warehouses and other vulnerable parts. Her arsenals, consequently, are in so much less danger of being destroyed than are the exposed arsenals at Malta and Gibraltar. Thus her friendship is necessary to a state which has enormous interests in keeping open the Mediterranean route to India. The fact that, while the interests of England and Italy do not clash, each country needs the naval power of the other, makes their unwritten dual alliance the strongest alliance existing. In joining it, France, with the

glorious traditions of her revolution, will not only find a much more sympathetic atmosphere than in the brutal autocracy of her Russian ally, but will also be better able to further her fixed idea of a war of revenge.

Such a war would, in fact, be popular in both England and Italy. Both states have something to gain by it. Italy might retake her lost provinces Trent, Trieste, Istria and Dalmatia, and with them the hegemony of the Adriatic Sea; and England doubtless would watch with pleasure a war that might lessen the fierce aggressiveness of her true enemies, Germany and Russia.

I have endeavored to place before my readers the Franco-German situation in its relation to the peace of Europe. They themselves will judge of the probable outcome.

PARIS OF YESTERDAY, AND PARIS OF TO-DAY

ANDRÉ HALLAYS

PARIS

NO TOWN of Europe has undergone such profound transformations as those which, for the past hundred years, have changed the face of Paris. I am not now speaking of manners, but merely of the look of the streets, of the views and of the various styles of architecture. The nineteenth century saw new cities, like Berlin or Pesth, develop with marvelous rapidity; but at Berlin as at Pesth, the old town was an almost insignificant nucleus around which a modern town was abruptly formed. Very little was demolished; but there was constant building on a new plan. At Paris, on the contrary, it was necessary to adapt a large old city to the needs of an indefinitely increasing population. From 1800 to 1900 the total number of Parisians grew more than five-fold, whereas the area of the city was not even tripled.¹

I.

At the same time that the population increased, the orders of health officers made the ventilation and sanitation of the old quarters obligatory, and commerce and industry demanded streets through which there might be quicker traffic. Thus there was and as yet has been no pause in working over the plan of the city, in straightening crooked streets, in opening direct great avenues, in renewing, from end to end, the decoration of the capital. It was under the first Empire that the metamorphosis of Paris began. It was then a question of putting to use the vast sites left free by the convents just suppressed by the Revolution; the Rue de Rivoli, which dates from this period, is the first of the great highways of modern Paris. But until the reign of Napoleon III. these works were pushed slowly. Under the second Empire the great building fever broke out which turned Paris topsyturvy. Then, in all directions, old quarters were ripped up. The plan of a modern city was drawn and superposed upon the plan of the old-time city. It was ruthlessly adhered to.

The events of 1870 and 1871 interrupted, for a few years at most, the undertaking conceived by Haussmann, prefect of the Seine under Napoleon III. As soon as the traces of the war and the marks of fire had been removed, the process of tearing down, destroying and rebuilding began again. Moreover, from one decade to another, the constantly recurring World's Fairs altered the whole aspect of the western part of the city, and bequeathed to Paris certain of the buildings put up for each international holiday. The Exposition of 1855 left the *Palais de l'Industrie* on the *Champs*

¹The area of old Paris was formerly 3402 hectares (13,135 + sq. m.); since 1860, by the annexation of various suburbs, it has become 7802 (30,124 + sq. m.)

Elysées. That of 1878 brought Paris the gardens of the *Trocadéro* and the Palace overlooking them. That of 1889 caused the erection of the Eiffel Tower. In 1900 Paris fell heir to a bridge, two palaces and a new avenue; but at the same time it lost the *Palais de l'Industrie*.

Thus for about fifty years sanitary progress, industrial development, the fury of speculation and enterprises connected with World's Fairs condemned Parisians to life in the midst of demolished buildings and of construction sheds. Some finally became used to it, others realizing that modern life has certain unavoidable necessities, long since resigned themselves.

But for some years a new public feeling has begun to appear. On all sides people are asking themselves, as they look about them, whether these famous "necessities of modern life" really demand so much destruction and ruin. It has become evident that without reason, often even without pretext, some of the most admirable views of Paris have been sacrificed or impaired. Without slighting the rules of hygiene and the needs of quick traffic, people are beginning to talk of the rules and the needs of taste. "City æsthetics," a happy phrase, invented, I believe, by M. Buls, once Burgomaster of Brussels, quickly found favor. As early as 1885 a society was formed for the purpose of protecting the monuments of Paris, the *Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens*. From the beginning it has always made energetic protests against all attempts at vandalism, protests which we must admit have sometimes been vain. Three years ago the municipal council of Paris established a consulting committee, called the Committee of Old Paris. It is made up of city councillors, officials, literary men, and archæologists; its business is to protect all the landmarks and memorials of the town. In various quarters of Paris small local societies have been founded to watch more particularly over the aspect and the monuments of special parts of the capital. During the World's Fair of 1900, an International Congress of Public Art met under the auspices of the municipality of Paris. Both newspapers and reviews, moreover, are now ready to receive the complaints of Parisians who are weary of seeing their city at the mercy of speculators and destroyers.

To-day the fight is on between the Vandals and the friends of Paris. The former are certainly better armed; they generally have on their side the support of public authority; they can invoke, as an argument, the semblance of immediate utility; they are helped by the apathy of the majority of citizens. The rest can meet them merely with reasons based on good taste and good sense; and as they always seem to be defending the interests of the aristocracy, democracy suspects them as soon as it hears of them, as if it were not in keeping with the principles of genuine democracy to wish that

the street in which every one passes should remain a joy to the eye and a school of good taste.

II.

"We are not archæologists," say the defenders of the beauty of Paris; "we should be far from willing to stop the free development of our city merely for the sake of a few old stones." Such sentimentality would never be understood by the masses; and on this point let us recognize that the masses would be wholly right.

Under pain of death cities must be transformed. Admirable places for reverie are Bruges and Ravenna, where our imagination may enjoy noble and delicate delights. They are dead towns where for a few hours one loves to breath the pure perfume of the past. But it is natural that the fate of Bruges or of Ravenna should rouse but little jealousy, and that a man should wish another destiny for his native city.

Yet in Paris, as in all old cities, we wish the modern town to be built without disfiguring that of our ancestors. The soul of a city is fashioned, in some measure, by the genius of its inhabitants, the formation of the ground, the light of heaven and the vicissitude of history. It is the duty of citizens to respect that ancient soul in its most beautiful and characteristic works.

The problem is delicate. With a little good-will, however, it is not insoluble. In every old city the centre of social life has been displaced from age to age. A mysterious law governs this movement; all the great cities of Europe are advancing towards the setting sun. Paris began as a Gallic borough shut up on an island of the Seine. Little by little, it stretched along both banks of the river through all the Middle Ages. Then it grew towards the West, and built in that direction the palace of its Kings, the Louvre. For a time during the seventeenth century, it receded towards the East (it was then that the Marais quarter was beautified), but soon it resumed its normal advance. On the left bank it created the Faubourg Saint-Germain, on the right bank the Faubourg Saint-Honoré; in the nineteenth century, pushing ever towards the West, it reached the age of the Bois de Boulogne. Thus, from century to century, both old and new quarters took form on the map of the city.

When the idea of modernizing Paris first came up, the following plan might have been followed; to let air and light penetrate the old quarters, so as to make them habitable for the men of to-day; but to carry out those changes prudently, without altering the historic aspect of the streets and squares, and above all in those districts to avoid too modern architectural effects, too glaring incongruities; in the new quarters, on the contrary, to

try to realize the ideal of the modern city with the utmost possible comfort and elegance. But the work was done haphazard, without any prearranged plan; the old quarters were ripped up; venerable or interesting monuments, which told passers-by the history of Paris and of France, were torn down; certain beautiful aspects of the city, views that had become almost traditional, were sacrificed to the superstition of straight lines; and yet by a strange contradiction, while the old mansions of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries were torn down, they were revived in imitations throughout the new quarters. In old Paris, modernity reigned; in new Paris, archæology.

Against these aberrations we protest. There is still time. For however great the activity displayed for half a century by engineers, destroyers, architects and speculators, they have not yet ruined the beauty of Paris, and abolished the traditions of good taste. In spite of everything, the grace of the Seine, the softness of the sky, the splendor of the foliage, the magnificence of the palaces and churches have until now preserved for the city nearly all its olden charm. Those who love Paris have still a hundred reasons for loving her; but if they are not alert, the Vandals will soon have taken from them the best of all those reasons, namely, that Paris adds the elegance of a great modern city to the charm of a very old town, and that the life of to-day in Paris is made more beautiful and delicate by the constant spectacle of the elegance of the past.

III.

Let us illustrate, by a few examples, the main ideas of this Parisian plea *pro domo sua*.

The great monuments of the past, the glory of Paris, were spared when, fifty years ago, the general plan of the modern city was conceived; and now they are no longer threatened with ruin. Though they have been restored with a hardihood which at times has slightly disfigured them, they have been "classed," that is to say, put under the protection of the law. We are all but certain that they will never be torn down. Moreover, they are used for public purposes, and their maintenance is assured. They might perhaps be better defended against the vagaries of those who live in them, by not permitting wooden blinds to be hung on the Louis Quatorze fronts of the palace of the Louvre, and by not tolerating a forest of chimneys or hanging gardens above the terraces of those two marvelous pavilions erected by Gabriel on the *Place de la Concorde*. But such details are of little enough importance. The great monuments of Paris are safe. If public taste some day proves itself more scrupulous, these blemishes will vanish.

The great peril for the beauty of Paris is commercial publicity, that

great leprosy of signs and placards covering all, even the most beautiful, buildings of the capital. When these debaucheries of advertising take place in wholly modern streets, the fronts of whose houses are utterly lacking in style, we console ourselves readily; sometimes these color-medleys are an unobjectionable break in the monotony of bare and graceless stretches of real estate. But the most elegant quarters and the most magnificent squares of Paris are now profaned, by day with frightful placards and by night with luminous signs. What is left of the old city is disappearing behind the painted canvases and the gilt lettering of commercial houses.

Among the most individual beauties of Paris are three magnificent squares, which tell passers-by the history of two centuries of French art; the *Place des Vosges*, the *Place Vendome*, and the *Place de la Concorde*. These are three architectural wholes, each of which, by the harmony of its lines and of its coloring, calls to mind the taste and the manners of the time when it was built. At the end of the reign of Henry IV., the *Place des Vosges*, the former *Place Royal*, was constructed on a uniform plan which is a model of elegance; the handsome fronts of brick and of stone, the high tiled roofs, the delightful walk that surrounds the square, are the highest efforts of the purely French taste before the invasion of the Greco-Roman. First put up to shelter workmen and merchants, under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., these charming houses became the dwellings of the French nobility, who felt that in the Faubourg Saint Honoré they were too near the Louvre, that is to say, too near the King. On the *Place Royale*, festivals, duels, rendezvous and insurrections occurred. There, in the seventeenth century, princes, poets and courtesans were to be met. There, Richelieu was seen passing and the great Condé, Corneille, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Marion de Lorne, Saint Vincent de Paul, Ninon de Lenclos, Molière, Madame de Longueville, Françoise d'Aubigné and Turenne. Such memories as these make this square one of the sacred places of our history. The *Place Vendome* is the work of Louis XIV. The plans were drawn by Mansard, the architect of the palace of Versailles. With its splendid symmetry, its Corinthian ornamentation, its classic pediments adorned with the arms of France, it expresses admirably the cold and majestic solemnity of the "great century."

Finally the *Place de la Concorde* and the *Rue Royal* were conceived by the greatest of eighteenth century architects, Gabriel. The two pavilions which rise to the north of the square, with their delicate colonnades, are miracles of elegance. It was on the *Place Louis XV.*, now the *Place de la Revolution*, that the Reign of Terror set up the guillotine.

To understand all the history of the city, and to follow, as if in an outline, the destination of the French monarchy, it is therefore enough to trav-

erse Paris from east to west and to pause for a few moments on each of these squares. But above all, these three halting places are enough to give us an understanding of the evolution of French taste. Big volumes of æsthetics could not teach us more. Such characteristic fronts are the richest and clearest of lessons for all the people, at the same time that they are an unequalled ornament for the city. The Kings who created these three marvelous wholes felt the full value of the beauty with which they were endowing Paris, and they decreed that the lines and the aspects conceived by their architects should be respected forever. They expressed their will in the acts by which the buildings were authorized. To-day their wills are slighted. Without doubt the fronts themselves have not been greatly altered. But merchants have installed themselves in the old houses and have dishonored them with their shops and their signs. The *Place des Vosges* alone is almost free from the scourge; life has withdrawn from this now silent quarter; there passers-by are rare; advertisements, which would appeal to no one, are not placarded in these half-abandoned parts. The *Place Vendôme* has been recently invaded by dressmakers, milliners, and hotelkeepers; an attempt is being made to limit their ravages and to oblige them to post their names in the windows only; but every day the audacity of the merchants grows greater, and the work of Mansard is already impaired. It is in the *Rue Royal* that commercial publicity commits its gravest crimes. Of late years the look of the house-fronts has been pitifully changed. The houses, formerly inhabited by private citizens, have become the prey of traders. If we are not on the alert, all charm will soon be taken from that beautiful street, which at sunset, when the crowd of carriages returns from the *Bois de Boulogne* and the *Champs Élysées*, is like a triumphal highway of elegance.

If we have taken as examples these three great squares of Paris, it is by no means because the signs and advertisements are inoffensive elsewhere, but because nowhere are they so disastrous, nowhere do we feel so imperiously the need of protection from traffickers, the glory and the beauty of the city.

IV.

Paris is proud of the trees which adorn its boulevards, its avenues and its quays. Doubtless its parks and squares cannot rival the parks of London; they are of only moderate size; and in keeping with the architecture of French monuments, they are generally regular in design and richer in flowers than in shade trees and greensward. But no European town possesses so many plots of trees scattered among the squares and along the streets. The number of trees which border the highways of Paris is now

about ninety thousand. It was under the second Empire that this adornment of the city with verdure was begun. The Paris of former days was full of immense gardens belonging to all the palaces and mansions. They disappeared in great part when the building fever revived. Speculators divided them into building lots; and in place of the flower gardens and groves, investors' houses sprang up. People then saw that by clearing away the trees of Paris they would make it unhealthy and uninhabitable; and to make good the great devastation they planted trees all along the avenues cut through the old city.

The Parisians love their chestnut trees, their elms and their plane-trees, for the cheerfulness they give the public highways, for the refreshing coolness that they afford pedestrians in the dog-days, and perhaps, also, for the friendly curtain of verdure with which they hide the ugliness of our modern buildings. They know very well that this is the charm of their city, the charm which wins and holds their foreign guests. Accordingly they grow indignant whenever it is proposed to hurt their trees.

To tell the truth, such indignation does not always disarm the public officials and engineers. To locate a railway station, not long ago, they uprooted some of the fine trees which used to ornament the Esplanade of the *Invalides*. This crime stirred up a great deal of anger, but the station was built nevertheless; and now that the World's Fair buildings, temporarily erected there, are down, we can measure the full extent of the disaster. Still more lately, to establish a railroad under the quays of the left bank of the Seine, the poplars which shaded the public highway were torn up; the delicate perspective of the river banks has consequently suffered irreparable harm. Finally, the buildings of the last Exposition despoiled several Parisian avenues of their trees.

On these various occasions the complaints of the citizens were in vain, but at the least they made the engineers more prudent for the future. The officials have tried to deserve pardon for their ravages by increasing the number of trees planted elsewhere. To-day it is no longer questioned that, to be beautiful and healthy, a modern city must be full of shade trees. Here sanitary experts and artists are of one mind. Such a union, without which nothing lasting can be established, should be the starting point in the transformation of every old city.

V.

On two more points it is important that science and æsthetics should come to an agreement.

Science must come to the aid of æsthetics by finding a way to free the atmosphere of Paris from the smoke and the soot that poison it. It is use-

less to restore the monuments of the past, and to employ the talents of sculptors to decorate the monuments of to-day, if we cannot succeed in preserving edifices from the abominations which float in the city air. From the numberless factories which surround Paris on all sides, there rises a wretched vapor which covers house-fronts and statues with an oily gray coating, and stains and eats into the stones. The development of industry will soon completely ruin every sort of architecture and ornament, unless some chemist thinks out a process of cleansing the air of great cities and driving out of it these murderous pollutions.

On the other hand, traffic, daily more active, must no longer force us into constant demolitions. In proportion as the population increases, as Paris, a commercial and industrial centre, sees its importance augment, and as the fever of business grows hotter, the streets are daily more encumbered with vehicles of all kinds, trams, omnibuses, automobiles. Until to-day the only cure seemed to be in multiplying the great highways, and so all these charming quarters, all these precious monuments have fallen under the destroyer's pick. Science, then, must deprive the Vandals of their great argument, the irresistible forward trend of the modern movement. In Paris the problem has not yet been solved; but we are at work in the right direction. The great success of the first section of the metropolitan subway shows clearly that the true means of clearing the streets of some of the vehicles which block them has been discovered. When the entire system is built, when the subsoil of the city is furrowed in every direction by express trains, the public highways will grow freer; they will suffice for the passage of the trams and carriages; and to make new gaps through Paris it will no longer be possible to cite the needs of traffic. After having been enemies of Paris, the engineers to-day, and perhaps against their will, are becoming its best defenders.

VI.

From this brief sketch of the transformation of modern Paris I should be sorry to have anyone receive too pessimistic an impression. Those who are devoted to the beauty of their city are still few. I have told their reasons for complaint and anxiety. But from certain indications, to some of which I have called attention, we can see that their ideas are beginning to spread.

Vestiges of old Paris that seemed doomed to destruction have been saved. A year ago, as one of the old mansions of the *Ile de Saint Louis*, the Lauzun mansion, was about to be offered for sale, the city of Paris acquired it, thus preserving a house that is precious for the historic memories it calls up and, still more, for the beautiful seventeenth century decorations that

cover its walls. Scarcely a few months ago, there was talk of tearing down the De Rohan mansion, a state property containing some charming paintings by Huet and an admirable *bas-relief* by Le Lorrain; the decorations and sculpture would have been moved to a museum; then the famous dwelling of the cardinals of the eighteenth century would have been destroyed. This plan was abandoned; the works of art will remain in their place. These victories of good sense and of good taste are a happy augury.

It seems that all of us, with one accord, are giving up the idea of great World's Fairs. Whatever our decision as to their economic utility and their social results, we really must admit that these speculative enterprises have been unlucky for the beauty of Paris. They had the charm of ephemeral things, but they prevented the execution of a well-considered plan for the development of the city. Every ten years a new treatment was improvised without first being worked out; and things at first provisional, afterwards became permanent. It is good that we are now done with such incoherent conceptions. What is more, a plan of a garden and park is being prepared which, if tastefully carried out, will transform that traditional stage of expositions, the *Champs de Mars*, and enrich the city with a fine promenade. The formidable iron framework of the Machinery Building will be taken to pieces, and that masterpiece of Gabriel, the pretty front of the Military School, will at last be brought into view with a proper setting.

The passion for the city's honor which animates a few Parisians is little by little becoming contagious. Great crimes have been committed against the beauty of Paris; doubtless still a few will be committed. But a wholly new feeling, which we may call the æsthetic sense, is slowly being awakened. In some men it is by no means a spontaneous revolt of good taste outraged by ugliness, it is rather an intuitive perception of the truth that things beautiful are of public utility, and that to protect the remains of the past in very old towns is to take thought for the future by insuring the vitality of their traditions.

WATERWAYS IN EUROPE

ALFRED VON WEBER-EBENHOF

VIENNA

PART II.

THE recognition of the importance of waterways has called forth keen rivalry on the part of the nations of Europe in adapting existing waterways to modern requirements. These endeavors became conspicuously visible at first in the great canal bill of Germany, in accordance with which German waterways are to be made into a network, the like of which it would be difficult to find. Austria soon followed by adopting a canal bill, which is designed to grapple with entirely new problems of a technical nature, inasmuch as the great differences in height throughout the mountainous regions necessitate the employment of extraordinary machinery. France was the next country to provide for the systematic development of its waterways on a large scale. In Russia also, long-cherished wishes and plans are approaching realization,—plans concerned chiefly with the construction of a canal for sea-ships connecting the Baltic and the Black Sea; the scheme of a trans-Siberian canal to the Pacific Ocean has likewise been discussed. The establishment of a system of canals in Hungary is only a question of time, and serious attention has been given to related projects of wide scope. We thus note a feverish activity in the field of waterways from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean to the easternmost boundaries of Europe and even beyond them, across Asia to the Pacific.

THE NEW PRUSSIAN CANAL BILL

According to the original bill, providing for a ship canal from the Rhine to the Weser and the Elbe, which the Prussian Government presented to the Chamber of Deputies on March 14, 1899, the cost was estimated at about sixty-five million dollars. In consequence of the opposition of the Agrarians, and the representatives of several parts of the country, who apprehended that this project would bring a change in the commercial conditions deleterious to their interests, the original plan was modified by a proper consideration of all satisfactory claims, and upon this basis a new "bill for the construction and improvement of canals and river-courses in the interests of navigation and agriculture" was drafted, in accordance with which the costs were increased to 397,060,700 marks, almost \$100,000,000.

According to the terms of this bill, the Government is to be empowered

I. To construct or improve the following waterways:

A ship canal connecting the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe (Rhine-Elbe canal), consisting of—

- (a) a ship canal from the Rhine near Laar to the Dortmund-Ems canal at Herne (Dortmund-Rhine canal);
- (b) various improvements on the Dortmund-Ems canal to Bevergern;
- (c) a ship canal from the Dortmund-Ems canal at Bevergern to the Elbe at Heinrichsberg below Magdeburg (Midland canal), with branch canals to Osnabrück, Minden, Wülfe, Hildesheim, Lehrte, Peine and Magdeburg, including the canalization of the Weser from Minden to Hameln.

A waterway for large vessels from Berlin to Stettin (Berlin-Hohen-
saaten waterway).

The waterway between the Oder and the Vistula, as well as the
waterway of the Warthe from the mouth of the Netze to Posen.
The waterway between Silesia and the Oder-Spree canal.

- II. To assist in the improvement of the fore-tide of the lower Oder;
of the fore-tide and shipping conditions of the lower Havel; the
improvement of the Spree.

The Government appropriation is to be 389,010,700 marks of the total
of 397,060,700 marks; the remainder of the 8,050,000 marks is to be raised
by the parties interested in the items named under section 2. The latter
also guarantee payment of the principal up to 117,553,310 marks, and in-
terest thereon, as well as the costs of maintenance in so far as these are not
—up to certain amounts—covered by the receipts.

The most important item of the bill is the Midland canal, which must
be regarded as the future backbone and main connecting link of the German
rivers and canals. The Rhine, Weser, Elbe, Oder and Vistula can be
easily connected, as there is, indeed, already a connection between the Elbe,
Oder and Vistula in the east, and the gap still existing between the Rhine,
Weser and Elbe in the west is now to be closed by a wide waterway for
ships of 600 tons, which will be navigable also by vessels propelled by ma-
chinery. This canal joining the Rhine and the Elbe is to consist of a canal
from Dortmund to the Rhine, of improvements along the existing Dort-
mund-Ems canal, and of the Midland canal, which is to branch off from
the Dortmund-Ems canal at Bevergern, pass along the northern boundary
of the middle German hills, cross the Weser at Minden and flow into the
Elbe at Heinrichsberg below Magdeburg.

All the conditions affecting this undertaking are extremely favorable,
since the canal runs along an even grade from Münster to a point east of
Hanover, a distance of 210 kilometers; here it rises by means of a lock to
the highest grade, a stretch of about 100 kilometers, and then descends
with the aid of five locks to the Elbe at Heinrichsberg. No additional

locks are needed, except for the branch canals and for the descent to the Weser at Minden. By means of the canalization of the Weser from Hameln past Minden to Bremen, the latter port is connected with the entire system of German waterways and will undoubtedly reap great benefits from this union. For this reason the canalization mentioned will be conducted at the expense of the city of Bremen. It is to be extended over 200 kilometers, and there will be twenty-five locks within this distance. The sections through which the Rhine-Elbe canal is to pass are among the best developed in all Germany. There are populous centres of industry, coal mines, blast furnaces, iron works and steel plants, foundries, machine factories, bridge-building establishments, dockyards and numerous factories of all sorts, and in addition one of the most extensive railroad systems of the world operates in this industrial section; but it is no longer able to handle the ever-increasing traffic.

The proposed waterway for large vessels between Berlin and Stettin is also intended for vessels of 600 tons' capacity, and it is expected that its construction will bring increased prosperity to the city of Stettin. In order to accomplish the desired result, the Pramenburg and Finow canal is to be widened and at Hohensaaten conducted to the Oder, the channel of which river is to be improved from this point on down to Stettin. Eastward of the Elbe and the Stettin route the waterways are to be adapted to vessels of only 400 tons' capacity, which is sufficient to meet all demands in the eastern section of the country. The waterway from the Oder to the Vistula is to be made to conform to these new conditions by improvements of the Warthe, the Netze, and the Bromberg canal. Finally, the upper Silesian coal region and industrial section is to be connected with Berlin and the German waterway system by improving the channel of the Oder from the mouth of the Neisse down to the union of the Oder with the Oder-Spree canal at Fürstenfelde. From Cosel down to the mouth of the Neisse the Oder is already sufficiently well canalized. The improvements are to consist in canalization and further regulation, and in collecting sediment in extensive basins.

The canal bill is intended to promote the economical *rapprochement* of western and eastern Germany and at the same time to increase the capability of the country in competing with foreign nations by lowering freight rates on these waterways which are to be improved or constructed. The freight rates of the Prussian railways averaged 3.63 pfennige per ton-kilometer in 1898, coal 2.49 pfennige. The rates of the waterways are to average 1.9 pfennige for the Dortmund-Ems canal, 1.25 pfennige for the Midland canal, 1.1 pfennige for the remaining waterways. The following figures will serve as an illustration of the advantages to be gained: The

transportation of coal from Herne to Mannheim at present costs 8.2 marks, in future it is to cost 4.1 marks, just half; coal from Königshütte to Berlin 10.52 marks, in future 6.6 marks; grain from Posen to Berlin 10.3 marks, in future 5 marks, less than half. The new waterways will by reason of these low rates of transportation create new industries and new values and thereby powerfully enhance the prosperity and the economical development of Germany.

THE NEW FRENCH WATERWAY PROJECT

In spite of the extremely favorable results obtained by the waterways constructed or improved in accordance with the plan proposed by de Freycinet, the French soon recognized the fact that their waterways had reached the limit of their utility and that a further development was absolutely necessary to prevent a sensible stagnation of trade and commerce. A new scheme was therefore worked out with great care, which clearly recognized the necessity of the construction of up-to-date through waterways along the chief arteries of natural commerce, and assured the financial success of this rational system without regard to less important connections more local in character. In the same way only those seaports were chosen for further development, which are connected organically with these chief arteries. In place of the previous dissipation of means for numerous objects, we now have to deal with a logical selection and a systematic development of the recognized leading highways of commerce. In accordance with this vital change in method, de Freycinet's plan of 1879 was submitted to a new critical revision.

A mere glance at the river-map of France will convince one that a tremendous line of trade running from north to south exists or should exist, which, beginning at Dunkirk, passes along the canals of the Pas de Calais and the canal from the Marne to the Saône, and then, following the Saône and the Rhône in an arc to the east, passes into the Mediterranean at Marseilles. From this main artery, three smaller arteries should branch off, namely, along the valleys of the Seine, the Loire and the Garonne, respectively. This system, if actually completed in accordance with modern advanced ideas of marine engineering, would respond perfectly to the trade currents of France, and to the international trade currents which it is in the interests of France to develop. Unfortunately, however, a great deal is in reality lacking for this ideal condition, and consequently the new French waterway bill is designed to approach it as closely as possible.

A principle of economical strategy demands that all efforts be concentrated upon a few well-chosen points to which every conceivable means of communication should be conducted, from without by means of large ports

of entry and into the interior by fortuitous combinations of waterways and railroads. Adopting this principle, the new plan embraces only five waterways and ten seaports to be improved and ten new waterways to be constructed. These twenty-five waterways, perhaps, will appear too scattered, particularly when we remember that the competitors of France have sought for the most part to strengthen two or three factors of their economical equipment. On closer scrutiny, however, we discover that several of the divisions taken together in reality constitute a uniform group, so that, after all, they are not too scattered.

The proposed undertaking consists of the following:

A.—The improvement of existing waterways, the canals between Dunkirk and the Scheldt, and the Deule and the Aire canals; leading the Scarpe around Douai, deepening the channel of the Seine from Paris to Rouen to 3.2 metres navigable depth; further improving the low-water regulation of the Rhône between Lyons and the sea in order to assure a depth of 1.25 metres even at the lowest low water; widening the Canal du Midi so that two vessels can pass each other, and regulating the Garonne, all at a cost of 41,000,000 francs.

B.—The building of new waterways, the Chiers canal of 85 kilometres to connect Dunkirk with the northern coal region, the Scheldt-Maas canal of 154 kilometres to connect the northern coal region with the eastern industrial and mining districts, the North canal of 94 kilometres to relieve the canal of St. Quentin, which with a traffic of 5,000,000 tons has reached the limit of its utility; lengthening the Ourcq canal by 43 kilometres; regulating the Loire at low-water for a distance of 84 kilometres between Nantes and Angers; lengthening the existing Orleans canal by five kilometres; constructing a canal of 49 kilometres from Moulins to Sancoins, the Loire-Rhône canal of 130 kilometres for the benefit of the city of St. Etienne, a canal from Marseilles to the Rhône and another from Cette to the Rhône, at a total cost of 456,640,000 francs.

C.—The construction of seaports at a cost of 113,180,000 francs. The total sum to be expended upon these new plans will be 610,820,000 francs.

Of the waterways to be newly constructed the Northwest canal, which leads from the Luxemburg boundary to the neighborhood of Douai, is of great importance. It consists of the Chiers canal and the Scheldt-Maas canal, and is to be constructed at a total cost of 131,000,000 francs. The Canal de Chiers is 85 kilometres long, 11 metres wide at the bottom, and to overcome a difference in height of 101 metres, is to have 31 locks, with 2.2 metres deep. The Scheldt-Maas canal is 154 kilometres long, 11 metres wide at the bottom, and 2.5 metres deep. The former, which has a lift of from 2.7 to 3.6 metres; the latter 56 locks, with a lift of 4 metres

to overcome 220 metres. The canals are to be fed partly by reservoirs, partly by pumping plants.

The Canal du Nord is intended to relieve the Canal of St. Quentin, which forms the chief route of commerce, particularly for coal, between northern France and the Oise and Paris. The canal will have two new sections, from Arleux to Peronne (45 kilometres) and from Ham to Noyon (24 kilometres), as well as a tunnel (5,000 metres long) and 30 locks with a lift of 4 metres each; for the latter, 20 locks with a lift of 5.7 metres each may be substituted. The first section will be fed by pumping 2 cubic metres of water per second from the swamps of the Sensée, the second from the Somme, or by pumping from the Oise. Furthermore, other sections of the Canal du Nord are to be made wide enough for tow-vessels, whereby the canal will be enabled to handle a trade of seven or eight million tons. It has at present, as pointed out above, reached the limit of its utility with 5,000,000 tons, and now 60,000,000 francs have been provided for this part of the enterprise.

Only minor changes are to be made in the basin of the Seine. The Loire, from Nantes to Angers, is to be made accessible to flat-bottomed ships of from 1.20 to 1.50 metres draught, in order that the shipping of this central river section of France may be improved. The Canal du Midi and the branch canal of the Garonne constitute a waterway between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. They were repurchased by the Government in 1898 and are to be improved. At the same time the Garonne, which is only 1 metre deep, is to be so regulated as to accommodate the vessels with a draught of 1.8 metres of the Canal du Midi. The canal from the Loire to the Rhône is 130 kilometres long, 18 metres wide at the bottom and 2.2 metres deep; it is to cost 123,000,000 francs. The difference in height amounting to 557 metres ($220 + 337$) is to be overcome by locks with a lift of 11 metres provided with reservoirs and two mechanical lifting machines 21 metres in height. A great many technical difficulties will be encountered in the construction of this canal, which is to pass through the industrial district of St. Etienne and empty into the Rhône south of Lyons, and the surmounting of these obstacles will involve the building of costly works of engineering, especially tunnels, one of which is to be 5,700 metres in length.

The most extensive harbor improvements are to be made at Marseilles at a cost of 34,000,000 francs, to enable this port to accommodate ocean-vessels of the largest type. The harbor of Dunkirk, upon which 58,000,000 francs have been expended since 1879, is to be enlarged by two basins at a cost of 26,000,000 francs. In order to accommodate the largest ocean-vessel, new landing-quays and a lock of 190 metres' available length, 22

metres' width and 8 metres' depth, are to be constructed in the harbor of Havre at a cost of 20,000,000 francs. In Bordeaux a new basin, landing-places, and a dry-dock were erected at a total cost of 13,000,000 francs. Additional improvements have been planned for the harbors of Boulogne, Dieppe, Rouen, St. Nazaire, Nantes, Bayonne, and Cette.

A comparison of the present standing of France in international commerce with the recent advances made more particularly by Germany, England and the United States, proves conclusively that it is high time for France to increase her trade by improving her means of communication. The value of the goods imported and exported by these four countries during the past fifteen years amounted in million francs to—

	1885	1900
France	7,177	8,487
Germany	7,382	12,463
England	16,060	20,377
United States	6,520	11,219

The increase, therefore, amounted in France to 1,310,000,000 francs or 18 per cent., in Germany to 5,081,000,000 francs or 69 per cent, in England to 4,317,000,000 francs or 29 per cent., and in the United States to 5,699,000,000 francs or 87 per cent.; whence we see that the commerce of France has failed absolutely to keep pace with that of the other three countries mentioned. Aimond, in his excellent report on the French waterway bill, expresses the hope that France will once more occupy the proud position she formerly held among the nations of the world, and maintains that only by a complete reform of methods of industry and commerce can France attain this end. France, he claims, has taken too little trouble to study the conditions and customs of foreign markets; the French commercial formula is antiquated, while that of other nations, especially Germany, is modern.

A strong retrogression is noticeable in the French ports, due on the one hand to the fact that the connection between the manufacturer or dealer and the foreign producer is daily becoming more direct and consequently ports serve more and more for through traffic, on the other to the falling off of French shipping; 77 per cent. of the foreign trade of France is carried in foreign ships. Only by giving an impetus to shipping and by improving the waterways, whereby opportunities for cheaper transportation will be furnished, can France expect its commerce to take a new lease of life, and the situation was fully realized by the people, inasmuch as the cleverly constructed plans of the Government were adopted by the whole nation almost unanimously in an incredibly short space of time.

THE AUSTRIAN WATERWAY PLANS

The continued progress in the development of waterways in neighboring countries caused Austria to recognize more and more clearly the necessity of providing cheap waterways for its own trade. The chief interest was taken in a canal from the Danube through the March to the Oder in the direction Vienna-Prerau-Oderberg, but the financial disaster of the year 1873 prevented the carrying out of the plans that had been promoted by the Anglo Bank. In fact, it would be difficult to find another canal for the construction of which the conditions were so favorable as they were for the Danube-Oder canal. It was only natural to suppose that a strenuous effort would be made to establish a cheap means of communication between the Moravian-Silesian coal basin, with its rich mines and industries on the one side, and Vienna, the capital city and an important industrial centre. It was reasonable also to expect that such a canal passing through Moravia and Lower Austria would exert a beneficial influence upon the industry and agriculture of these districts, and would call industries into being which formerly had not been able to exist on account of the high cost of raw products, especially coal, and the pressure of foreign competition. By reason of the low tariffs on the German waterways, German products could be brought to the Austrian boundaries at prices with which the Austrian products could not satisfactorily compete on account of the high rates of railroad transportation. On the other hand, the possibility of successful competition in case of a lowering of the costs of transportation by the construction of waterways was demonstrated by exact figures.

The connection of this important Austrian canal from Vienna to Oderberg with the Elbe by means of the canal from Prerau to Pardubitz, was a foregone conclusion. The canalization of the Elbe for vessels of 600 tons between Pardubitz and Melnik down to Aussig is already in progress, and upon its completion the road to Hamburg and the German Ocean will lie open to river-vessels and canal-boats. A further connection of the Danube-Oder canal with the Vistula, the San, and the Dniester is absolutely desirable in the interests of the kingdom of Galicia, which has remained rather backward in industry and agriculture, although it is capable of development. The canal is to provide for an exchange of Galician raw products with the manufactures of the West, and by cheapening the transportation and consequently the price of coal, furnish Galician industry an opportunity to develop. The connection of Vienna with the Elbe can be made expediently by way of Budweis and the Moldau. By this means the products of the North Bohemian brown-coal basin, which are at present sent from Aussig down the Elbe chiefly to Saxony and Prussia, can be applied to home industries. Accordingly, a canal is to be built from Vienna to Budweis, the Danube-Moldau-Elbe canal, and the Moldau is to be canalized from Bud-

weis to Prague. Finally a canal from Linz to Budweis has been proposed, which would establish the shortest connection between Prague and Linz.

The chief connecting link for all these proposed artificial ship canals and canalized rivers is to be the Danube, which must be able to accommodate canal-boats with a minimum draught of 1.80 metres even at the lowest water. Similarly the typical Danube ships, with a capacity of 600 tons, must be able to ply on the river with a full cargo and a draught of 1.80 metres, in order that they may make full use of the new canals on their further journeys. Speaking broadly, the Danube at present responds to the demands made upon it only in Hungary, where the lift is small. On the other hand, from the Austro-Hungarian boundary on, west of Pressburg (at Theben) to Regensburg, Bavaria, the last point reached by large steamships, the Danube, at lowest water, has a navigable depth of scarcely 1.2 metres, and unfortunately this low-water period falls at the very season of the busiest traffic, namely, the last days of the Hungarian and Roumanian grain harvest. Consequently the ships are compelled at present to take half and third cargoes, thus causing great economic losses. In order to abolish these evils and to enable the Danube to serve as an equivalent connecting link for the proposed ship canals to the Oder, the Elbe, and the Vistula, regulation of the river at low water has been planned, which will assure a navigable depth of two metres even at lowest water. A part of this regulation has been successfully carried out according to the plan of the author at the large Vienna cut, all the regulated sections of this cut possessing a depth of two metres at lowest water.

The conditions accompanying the construction of the canals just discussed are not as favorable as we have found them in other countries, since much greater differences in height have to be overcome than, for example, in the case of the North German canals. The height above sea-level of the water-sheds to be crossed are given in the following table:

Danube-Oder canal	284 metres
Danube-Moldau canal: from Budweis to Vienna	540 "
Connecting canal between the Danube-Oder canal and the	
Elbe in Bohemia at Pardubitz	418 "
Oder-Vistula canal	272 "
Canal from Linz to Budweis	about 690 "

Even these heights do not *per se* offer insurmountable technical difficulties, since several French canals, for example, overcome with locks even greater heights. Since, however, we must in connection with the construction of new networks of water-communication provide sections of far greater modern dimensions for vessels with a capacity of 600 tons, and at the same time attain the fastest possible traffic uninterrupted by numerous locks, it is

absolutely essential that the open sections of canal be made as long as possible and the lift accordingly concentrated at a few points, which from an economic standpoint is undoubtedly accomplished best by lifting-machines.

The existing vertical lifting-machines as established at Fontinettes, La Louvière, and Henrichenburg prove conclusively that their utility must cease for constructive reasons at a height of from 14 to 16 metres, and therefore another device will be resorted to in the new Austrian canals in the form of ship-lifting machines on inclined planes, for which plans have been submitted by leading German and Austrian machine factories. These machines are constructed on the principle of longitudinal or transverse planes and overcome heights of 60 metres with grades of from 15 to 35 per cent. The practicability of this innovation is insured by the judgment of an international jury composed of prominent experts, as well as by the circumstance that five of the leading Bohemian machine manufactories are willing to undertake the construction and guarantee its success. An experimental lifting-machine is to be built shortly, and a definite decision with regard to the exact nature and construction of the device to be employed will be reached upon the basis of the trials to be conducted with this machine.

Proposed Waterways	Length in Kilometres.	Total lift in metres.	Locks only	Lifting- machines	and locks
I.—Canals					
Danube - Moldau - Elbe canal					
Danube-Oder canal	274	205	50	7	3
(Vienna to Budweis)	205	535	129	4	13
Connecting canal from Pre- rau to Pardubitz	196	411	100	6	4
Canal from Linz to Budweis	95	748	170	8	2
Oder-Vistula-Dniester canal	479	286	71	4	15
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1249	2185	520	29	37
Branch canals	80	...	...	..	..
	—	—	—	—	—
Grand total canals	1329	2185	520	29	37
II.—Canalized Rivers					
Moldau from Prague to Budweis	185	195	34	..	34
Elbe from Melnik to Pardubitz	150	68	25	..	25
	—	—	—	—	—
Total waterways	1664	2448	579	29	96

The costs of the different canals were estimated by the Board of Trade at the following sums:

1. Danube-Oder canal	140,000,000 crowns
2. Connection of the Danube-Oder canal with the Elbe from Prerau to Pardubitz	130,000,000 "
3. Danube-Oder-Vistula canal	81,000,000 "
4. Connection from Hruscwhau to the Vistula	60,000,000 "
5. Danube-Moldau canal	140,000,000 "
6. Connection of the San with the Dniester	36,600,000 "

Total 587,600,000 crowns
or approximately \$120,000,000.

The general recognition of the fact that the construction of various waterways would inevitably bring about a great economic development made possible the astonishingly rapid passage of the law of June 11, 1901, in accordance with which it was decided to proceed with the building of the following waterways, on condition that the countries traversed by these waterways contribute a certain inconsiderable share of the expenses:

A. A ship canal from the Danube to the Oder.

B. A ship canal from the Danube to the Moldau near Budweis, together with the canalization of the Moldau from Budweis to Prague.

C. A ship canal from the Danube-Oder canal to the Middle Elbe, together with the canalization of the Elbe from Melnik to Jaromir.

D. A navigable connection from the Danube-Oder canal to the Vistula and to a navigable section of the Dniester.

Work on these waterways, which are all to be controlled by the Government, must be begun by 1904 at the latest. The maximum sum to be expended between 1904 and 1912 is 250,000,000 crowns; the payment of future expenditures to be guaranteed by special legislation at the proper time.

It has been estimated that for the canals in high altitudes a rate of transportation varying from 1.0 to 0.9 heller per ton and kilometre will have to be established, for those passing through plains a rate of from 0.7 to 0.6 heller. Adding to this the State taxes, we shall get approximately from 0.8 to 1.0 heller as the minimum rate of the total costs of transportation on the proposed canals, which is only about 50 or 60 per cent. of the rate of 1.6 heller per ton and kilometre charged by the Austrian Government railroads. The freight charges for low-class goods from Vienna to Prague, which are 8 crowns and 6.70 crowns per ton, respectively, by rail, would amount only to from 2.60 to 3 crowns per ton by water via Korneuburg and Budweis. Coal could be transported from Ostrau to Vienna on the Danube-Oder

canal for 2.20 crowns, instead of 7.20 crowns by rail. Bohemian brown-coal could be transported from Aussig to Vienna by way of the Elbe, the Moldau, and the Moldau-Danube canal for from 3 to 3.60 crowns. For high-grade goods, like sugar, grain, etc., for which much higher rates are charged by the railroads than for common articles, the cost of transportation by water will be only about a third or a fourth of the cost by rail.

THE HUNGARIAN WATERWAY PLANS

Now that the construction of the Austrian canals, especially of those from Vienna to the Oder and the Elbe, which are so highly important for the Hungarian grain export, has been assured by law, the building of cheap waterways will receive a needed impetus. In planning a network of waterways for Hungary, we must proceed in a manner similar to that employed in the drafting of the new French bill, that is, we must first determine the main currents in which the commerce of the country flows and then accordingly lay out our waterways. As far as the Hungarian grain export is concerned, it is essential that a short and direct connection should be established between the chief district of production, the famous *Alföld* or the Low Hungarian plain, and the leading centres of consumption, Bohemia and Moravia. The main current of this trade therefore runs from east to west, and the existing natural waterways can be used as means of transportation only in so far as they follow, at least approximately, this general direction. As far as both position and direction of current are concerned, the above requirements are met only by the left-hand tributaries of the Theiss, the Körös and the Maros, and by the Franzens canal. The Danube, between the mouths of the Theiss and the Drau, as well as between Budapest or Waitzen and Vienna, has the proper position, but the current flows in the wrong direction. The largest part of the Danube, as well as the Theiss, flow from north to south, and are consequently almost valueless for this trade combination. The same is true of the Drau and the Save. At present Hungarian grain is shipped to Vienna via the Danube, and, since no communication by water exists between Vienna and Bohemia or Moravia, it is then transferred to cars to be forwarded to its destination.

The above remarks go to show that in the largest wheat-raising sections of Hungary transportation by natural waterways is not feasible, and the rates of transportation are consequently considerably increased. The difficulty can be removed only by constructing canals running chiefly in a westerly direction from the *Alföld* to Budapest and employing the natural waterways as much as possible. This would, in the first place, necessitate the building of a canal from the Danube below Budapest to the Theiss, say at Csongrád, to which should be joined a northern *Alföld* canal from Csongrád to Szatmar

and a southern one from Temesvar to Szegedin and through the Theiss to Csongrád. It is easy to see that the connection of the Theiss, the chief river of the *Alföld*, with the Danube by means of the Franzens canal is made much too far south for the present purpose, and it is therefore absolutely necessary to establish a connection between the Middle Theiss and Budapest by means of a practical waterway. With this aim in view, a uniform and uninterrupted waterway is to lead from Szatmar by way of Debreczin and Csongrád to Budapest and thus at the same time to Vienna and to the canals from the Danube to the Elbe and the Oder. The second canal, which is to be built from Temesvar, would join the Theiss at Szegedin.

The benefit which Hungary would derive from the construction of these canals may be inferred from the fact that about 65 per cent. would be saved by shipping grain by water as against transportation by rail. The new canals will therefore effect a saving of from 1.5 to 2.5 crowns, say on an average 2 crowns per 100 kilograms, which for 13,000,000 metrical hundred-weight of Hungarian grain exported to Austria and Germany would be equivalent to an annual saving of 26,000,000 crowns on freight alone.

The building of the Austrian and Hungarian canals is of supreme importance with respect to the competition of American and Hungarian grain in Bohemia, for as soon as the canalization of the Moldau from Prague to Aussig, the regulation of the Moldau at Prague, the canalization of the Moldau from Prague to Budweis and that of the Elbe as far as Jaromer, and the Danube-Moldau-Elbe canal have been completed, American grain can be transported entirely by water without relading from Hamburg to any part of Bohemia, and upon completion of the remaining proposed waterways also to any part of Moravia, Lower and Upper Austria, Silesia, and Galicia. This will, of course, be of great help in relieving the competition of domestic as well as of Hungarian with American grain, apart from the custom regulations that every country adopts in the interests of home production.

THE RUSSIAN WATERWAY PLANS

The Russian network of waterways, which has begun to assume great importance for Russian trade and commerce, is capable of tremendous development. The proposed sea canal from the Baltic Sea at Riga to the Black Sea at Kherson, making use of the Düna, the Beresina and the Dnieper, will furnish a good example of the wonderful possibilities still in store for Russian shipping. Comparatively few technical difficulties stand in the way in the construction of this canal, not only because of the extraordinary water supply of Russian rivers and their small life, but also because the water-sheds are removed short distances from one another. The pro-

posed canal is intended for both ocean-vessels and warships, and is bound to exercise a widespread influence on Russian affairs.

Among inland waterways the plan for a connection of the Vistula at Novo Georgievsk with the Niemen at Niemnovo and the extension of the waterway as far as Windau, a port on the Baltic, is worthy of mention. This canal will accommodate vessels with a capacity of 250 tons and a draught of 1.50 metres, and is intended to avoid the German Baltic ports, especially Königsberg and Memel, in the export of Russian grain.

Russia also possesses almost unlimited opportunities in Siberia, the Ob, Yenisei, Lena and Amur, all richly supplied with water, and particularly suited for forming the bases of a practical network of waterways, which would no doubt contribute not a little to the cultivation of Siberia. A regular steamer service for both passengers and freight has been maintained on these rivers for decades. Since 1888 the Ob has been connected with the Yenisei by a canal, which, to be sure, is accessible only to ships with a maximum cargo capacity of only 82 tons, yet an uninterrupted waterway has thereby been established from Tumi to Irkutsk, a distance of 5,300 kilometres. The rivers of the Amur system cover a length of 14,500 kilometres, and the Russian Government has adopted measures to render them navigable. The Amur is navigable by coasting-ships up to 1,000 kilometres from its mouth. In 1895, 56 steamers, with a total horse-power of 3,269 and 64 freight vessels with a total cargo capacity of 12,000 tons, were in use here.

From all that has been said, we must conclude that the civilized nations of the world are at present greatly interested in the energetic development of their waterways, and that no country can afford to withdraw from this economic rivalry without running the risk of being passed in the race. In Europe we are witnessing the construction of a series of immense systems at unheard-of expenditures, which will undoubtedly result within a conceivable space of time in a practical modern network of waterways extending from the Iberian peninsula to the borders of Asia, and even beyond to the Pacific Ocean.

Groups of canals and rivers, supplemented by new waterways, are united to form great arteries of commerce, their directions and dimensions being skilfully adapted to varying demands, and thus a system of commercial arteries will be developed in Europe, by means of which the exchange of products as between nations and continents will most effectively be accomplished. Economic invigoration, a more intimate *rapprochement* of neighboring countries and consequently closer ties binding the nations of Europe together for the protection of common interests, will be brought about as a most natural result.

From time immemorial the sea has exerted the widest influence upon the development of human civilization, and so in this latest period of creative activity, the first impulse has come from the sea. The depth of the ocean, that imposes no restrictions upon the building of ships, and the enormous advance in ship-building itself and in ship machinery, have effected the totally unexpected and undreamed-of growth of ocean-vessels, which, in turn, has given rise to a powerful development of seaports. The increase in harbor traffic gave an impetus to inland navigation, and by this means materials are brought from the sea as far as possible into the interior of the country and new products are sent back in exchange. Just as the heart of a living being with powerful beats drives the quickening drops of blood into the arteries, in order that even the most distant and minute ramifications may be supplied, so also, in a well-arranged system of waterways, the commerce of the ocean penetrates into the innermost sections of the country and everywhere exerts an invigorating influence. It is the serious endeavor and the signs of our times to proceed systematically in the construction of these avenues of communication and to employ every means that modern technology offers to bring them nearer and nearer to perfection.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

JOSEPH B. BISHOP

NEW YORK

IN two respects the Republican National Convention of this year will be unique in our history. It will nominate for the Presidency, while he is holding that office, a man who succeeded to it through the death of a President, and it will be the first assemblage of the kind that has not been "packed" in advance by the politicians in the interest of candidates of their own choice. No "accidental President" has ever been nominated to succeed himself. Fillmore was not a formidable candidate when his term expired in 1852, but he was four years later, and was nominated only to be defeated. Few others in the same category have been seriously thought of at the close of their term, though some of them fully deserved to be. Arthur made an excellent President, but to his deep mortification and grief, he received only a perfunctory support in the convention of 1884, and had no chance at any time of securing the nomination.

How has it come about that Roosevelt is so much the exception that his nomination will be made by acclamation, virtually without a dissenting vote? The explanation is simple. He was a strong Presidential possibility four years ago when he was nominated for Vice-President. Nothing except the devotion of the party to McKinley because of his record in office prevented the candidacy of Roosevelt for first place from assuming large proportions at that time. He was not put on the ticket as candidates for Vice-President usually are, as a "consolation prize" for the supporters of a defeated candidate, but as a man whose great popularity throughout the country would arouse enthusiasm and give strength to the ticket. His campaign tour in the West fully justified this estimate of his qualities, and left him at its close more popular than ever. He was, in fact, recognized at the time of his nomination as a man up to the Presidential candidate size, and this estimate of him has been confirmed in the opinion of his party and of the country by his conduct in office since McKinley's death. Instead of there being anything inexplicable or surprising in the strength of his candidacy to-day, it is the logical result of his career and of events. It is no secret that fear of him as a Presidential possibility was the main reason why some of the most powerful politicians of his party wished to "side-track" him in the Vice-Presidency. His course as Governor of New York, in forcing through the Legislature, against the protests of Senator Platt backed by the great corporation influences of the City of New York, a law for the taxation of franchises, had created this fear. He had won great

popularity by his refusal to yield to pressure on this question, and the influences mentioned were convinced by his firmness that he was not the kind of man that they wished to see in the Presidency. They feared that another term as Governor might develop him into a Presidential possibility with such strong popular support that the party could not refuse to nominate him in 1904 without inviting disaster. "We will bury him in the Vice-Presidency," they said among themselves, "and be rid of him; for in that office he can do nothing to add to his present popularity and he will lose that before his term expires."

So deeply convinced were Mr. Roosevelt's personal friends that to put him in the Vice-Presidency was to "bury" him, that they opposed the scheme with all their powers. He himself, as I have reason to know, took a like view. After he had been elected, he said that he was about to begin the study of law in order that he might begin to practice at the expiration of his term. He looked upon his political career as ended, but he was neither cast down nor resentful. Surely, never was it more startlingly shown that while man proposes, God disposes, than it was in this instance. Instead of being put upon the shelf by his political enemies, Mr. Roosevelt was put into the White House through their efforts. He came into the Presidency against the machinations of his enemies and in spite of his own struggles to keep out of it, and he came in under obligations to no human being. His conduct after becoming President fully justified the views of those persons who had concocted and carried through the scheme to sidetrack him. They very soon discovered that they could no more control him there than they had been able to control him in the Governorship of New York. They discovered, too, almost as soon, that he was winning the irresistible popularity which they had dreaded, and that they could neither counteract it nor defy it. Only a few months after he became President, one of the shrewdest political observers in Washington said to me: "Of course, Senator Hanna and his friends do not want to nominate Roosevelt in 1904, but every man of them knows and admits, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, perhaps, but none the less admits, that his nomination is as certain and as irresistible as fate." This unwilling conviction was strengthened beyond hope of escape when, (1), the Court of Appeals of New York State upheld the Franchise Tax Law; when, (2), the President's Anthracite Coal Commission succeeded in settling the great strike and assuring peace in that region for a period of three years, and when, (3), the Supreme Court of the United States sustained the Government's side in the Northern Securities case. Mr. Roosevelt, as Governor and President, had carried to final success all the policies which his party opponents had most disliked and antagonized, and in doing so had won the approval of the people

so overwhelmingly that for the party to refuse to nominate him for his own successor would be to commit suicide.

Thus has it come about that the National Republican Convention which is about to meet in Chicago is literally an "unpacked" convention, and as such, is a novelty in our national convention history. From the moment that the modern nominating system began to be used in this country, about three-quarters of a century ago, till this year, there has not been a great national convention that has not been more or less "packed" by the politicians weeks and even months in advance of its assembling. General Jackson, who called the first Democratic convention ever held, for the purpose of giving a "close-to-the-people" aspect to the nomination of his favorite, Van Buren, for second place on the ticket with himself, had it made up almost entirely of his own supporters, who were in so great a majority that he had them adopt the two-thirds rule, which he fastened so firmly about the neck of the party that it has never been able to rid itself of it. Thurlow Weed and his Albany Regency had such complete control of the first Whig convention, in a church at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1839, that they were able to defeat the nomination of Clay, who was the favorite when the convention came together. As a matter of fact, the politicians of both great parties, in the first half of the last century, took up the convention system because they thought they could accomplish their ends with it more effectually than they were able to do with the obsolete caucus system. From that day to this they have rarely allowed it to slip from their grasp, and there has not been a single convention in which they have not had control of a large proportion of the delegates, not for one man or two men, but perhaps for a half-dozen; but control they have secured so firmly that no candidate whom they did not wish to have nominated could hope for success. Of course, in such cases as the renomination of Lincoln in 1864 and of McKinley in 1900, they had an easy task to perform, because they had strong popular support on their side, but they did their work just the same. The approaching Chicago convention has not been manipulated by any political leader in the interest of Mr. Roosevelt. He was nominated, in fact, a full year before delegates began to be chosen, by the spontaneous action of the party conventions of 1903, in a large majority of the States of the Union, formally declaring in favor of his candidacy. The convention has been "packed" by the people and the politicians have merely carried out the popular will in choosing delegates to record formally the clearly expressed desire of the masses of the party.

Turning, now, to the Democratic Convention, which is to assemble at St. Louis, a quite different situation is presented. For several months strenuous and systematic efforts have been under way to "pack" this in

the regulation manner for several candidates. A Democratic convention is a more difficult body to control than a Republican convention, because of the "two-thirds" rule, which requires that proportion of the delegates in support of a candidate to secure his nomination. This rule was adopted in the first Democratic convention and has been upheld and reaffirmed in every subsequent convention of the party. It usually is accompanied by the unit rule, which enables the majority of a State delegation to cast the solid vote of the State according to their pleasure without regard to the preferences of the minority. The two rules working together produce anomalous results in an American representative body. One overthrows the principle of majority rule, and the other suppresses the right of individual freedom of opinion. One makes it very difficult for a candidate to obtain a nomination in a convention before which there are several candidates, and the other helps to secure him a nomination by giving him votes to which he is not entitled. Why the Democratic party should cling to both, is something of a mystery. Efforts were made in the conventions before the war to have the two-thirds rule set aside, but all resulted in failure. Since the war it has been adopted, usually without debate, in each convention. The supporters of every candidate are in favor of maintaining it in order to erect as formidable a barrier as possible in the pathway of their rivals. It enables a candidate whose supporters comprise more than a third of the convention to prevent the nomination of anyone unsatisfactory to himself. In the approaching convention, for example, by controlling a little more than a third of the delegates, Mr. Bryan and his followers can prevent the nomination of Judge Parker or any other Eastern Democrat who is distasteful to themselves. The rule is thus a weapon of great power in the hands of a militant minority, and as most conventions are composed of antagonistic minorities, these unite for the perpetuation of a method of procedure which is in their common interest. The effect upon the party is decidedly unfortunate. It holds it back from progress by placing in the hands of a Bourbonite minority power to hold it tied fast to dead issues and to prevent it from adopting new and living principles.

The conventions of this year will be of the mass-meeting order, which has been the rule since 1860, and which entitles these assemblages to the distinction of being the most riotous and noisy gatherings in the world. They have been steadily increasing in size and tumult since 1860. In that year the first convention of the modern type was held in Chicago, and resulted in the nomination of Lincoln. As there was no hall of large dimensions in the city at the time, a special building, christened "The Wigwam," was erected for the purpose. It had a capacity variously estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000, and was the first convention hall with large accommoda-

tion for the outside public. What happened? Why, precisely what has happened at every similar gathering since that time—the managers of various candidates made careful and systematic preparations to pack it with their followers, who could be relied upon to shout and cheer interminably on signal at any moment. The supporters of Seward went to the convention with fully a thousand followers and a gorgeously uniformed brass band. The supporters of Lincoln had a great host, gathered from the neighboring States, ready to further his prospects in all ways that could be devised. While the Seward men were parading the streets on the morning the convention was to meet, with their band at their head, the Lincoln managers filled all the available space in the hall with their followers, so that when the Seward procession arrived only the New York delegates in it could get in. At subsequent meetings no such blunder was made, and both sides got as many men as they could into the galleries and other available spaces.

In that convention, the first of the mass-meeting kind, the modern uproar tactics were instituted. The system of prolonged cheering and counter-cheering was put in operation spontaneously, it being the natural outcome of rivalry, each side seeking to yell longer and louder than the other. In subsequent conventions the same system has prevailed. It touched its highest point, perhaps, in the Republican Convention of 1880, at Chicago, when fully 15,000 persons were present as spectators. At one of the evening sessions the mention of General Grant's name started a "demonstration" which lasted for thirty minutes. It was an indescribable and boundless pandemonium. No sooner did it cease than a Blaine "demonstration," equally demoniac, arose at the mention of his name, and this lasted for thirty-five minutes. There were similar scenes in the Democratic convention which nominated Bryan in 1896, and in every other convention for the past thirty-odd years. It is scarcely necessary to say that organized uproar of this kind destroys utterly the deliberative quality of a convention. What happens is that the mob takes possession whenever it chooses to do so. It outnumbers the real convention many times to one. The whole body of delegates and alternates does not exceed 2,000 persons, while the outsiders number 15,000 or more, according to the size of the hall. It is absurd to say of these spectators that they are "representatives of the people" at the proceedings of the convention. They are nearly all furious supporters of particular candidates, and are only present for the purpose of overawing the convention and inducing it to act quite otherwise than in a deliberative manner.

A specially bad effect of the system is that, in requiring extremely large buildings or halls for convention usage, it makes anything approaching real debate or discussion impossible. Only speakers with the most powerful

voices can be heard except by those in their immediate neighborhood. The great bulk of the business of the convention is carried on in pantomime. Only a few persons know what is going on during the greater part of the time. In other words, the great halls are provided for the mob in order that it may take possession of the convention whenever it chooses to do so. In a hall capable of accommodating the actual convention comfortably everybody could be heard easily, and the assemblage would really be what it purports to be, a deliberative body called together to use its best judgment in the selection of a candidate for the highest office in the land. Perhaps, at some not far distant day, we may return to assemblages of this kind, but at present the mass-meeting type seems to find too much favor to be discontinued.

But does the shouting mob in the galleries have any real effect upon the action of the convention? Do the competitive struggles in cheering and shrieking have any perceptible influence upon the balloting? There is no evidence that a vote has been changed by these efforts. It is a fact that none of the most systematic efforts to "stampede" a convention by these methods has succeeded. Usually the mine has been exploded too soon. The demonstration has been made so far in advance of the balloting that its force has been wasted. Then, too, systematic preparations for "stamping" have been met by equally systematic efforts to counteract them. Nobody is taken by surprise, and consequently nobody is carried off his feet. The balloting goes on precisely as if the demonstrations had not been made. As a matter of fact, the controlling power in nearly all conventions does not lie either in the delegates or in the political bosses who direct so many of them, or in the ten or twelve thousand people who get into the convention building. It rests in the people who are outside, but whose influence is exerted during every moment that the convention is in session. The final, deciding question is not, Which candidate do we most desire to nominate? but, Which candidate can we be most certain to elect? To answer that intelligently the most sagacious minds in every convention look beyond the shouting galleries, with their few thousands of personally interested spectators, to the millions of voters scattered over the land, and seek to read in advance their answer at the polls.

On the question of issues for the campaign which is to follow the conventions, the Republicans have a much more clearly defined course than have the Democrats, for their platform stands ready-made to their hands in the achievements of the Roosevelt administration. The record of things done during the two and a half years of that administration has not been surpassed in amplitude and large importance by any of its predecessors since the Civil War. It has been said that Roosevelt will be both candidate and

platform, and this is true. He will be nominated unanimously because of his achievements, and those achievements will constitute the platform upon which he will stand because they are the record of the party which he has led since succeeding McKinley in the Presidency. The record is a full one partly because it fell to Roosevelt to carry to final completion questions of policy which McKinley had formulated and set in operation. In this respect Roosevelt has kept to the letter the pledge that he made on taking his oath of office at Buffalo. He has, with the support of the Republican leaders in Congress, given to his party a continuing policy of administration, thus securing for the country results which otherwise might not have been possible of attainment. He took up the problems of Cuba, the Philippines and Porto Rico at the point at which McKinley dropped them, and carried forward his policy without a break and without the slightest diminution of energy. Since he became President, Cuba has been started successfully on its career as a free republic, and the United States has entered into a treaty of reciprocity in trade with it. The Philippine policy, instituted by McKinley, has been pushed forward with such steadiness and with such ability that the islands are at peace for the first time in several centuries and are enjoying throughout nearly their entire extent a considerable measure of self-government. Porto Rico is moving along so quietly and successfully under American rule that little or no thought is given to it in this country.

In regard to the solution of the problem left by the war with Spain, therefore, the Republicans can point to a record of results which cannot be successfully assailed by their opponents. They have kept faith with Cuba in giving the island independence and in giving it, also, as a republic, special trade privileges with the United States. The new republic has started on its career with far better prospects of continuing success, has displayed a larger capacity for self-government, than many of its most sanguine friends believed to be possible when it was given full control of its own affairs. In insisting that complete faith be kept with the island, President Roosevelt was uncompromising and unwearying. He appealed to Congress at two regular sessions to grant reciprocity, as McKinley had urged and as the nation had promised, and when nothing was done he called Congress together in extra session, a month in advance of its usual time, for the specific purpose of ratifying a treaty of reciprocity, and enacting such legislation as would carry it into effect. This final effort was successful. In the Philippines, Governor Taft, who was McKinley's appointee, was so earnestly and cordially supported in his policy by Roosevelt, that he was able not only to pacify the islands and start their people surely upon the road to ultimate self-government, but to induce the Catholic Church to sell the friars' lands

and to withdraw the friars, thus removing from the islands one of the chief obstacles to their permanent peace and to advancement in prosperity. Here, again, the administration's policy has been so successful that assault upon it by the Democrats has ceased and is not likely to be renewed in the campaign.

When we turn, next, to achievements which belong entirely to the Roosevelt administration, to solution of public questions that have arisen since Roosevelt became President, the record is also a notable one. The most important of these are the settlement of the anthracite coal strike and the securing of the Panama Canal. I have so recently written in detail in these pages on these two subjects that it is quite unnecessary to even recapitulate their main points now. It is only pertinent to consider here their qualities as issues in the campaign. That the Democrats will endeavor to make political capital by assailing the President's course in either matter is admittedly improbable. It is conceded that what he did in both cases commanded popular approval so overwhelmingly as to make assault upon it by an opposition party very inadvisable. In the coal strike settlement, all the opposition was from the outset concentrated in a single element of the electorate and was confined almost entirely to a single community, that known as Wall Street. As time has gone on, and as many facts hidden at the time have crept into the light, opposition and criticism have died away. In the first place, the President did settle the strike, not only for the time being, but for three years. That is a concrete fact which the people have grasped and they have paid little heed to any other aspect of the matter. They were in great anxiety, a grave peril hung over them, a peril of suffering and possible riot, and the President had both the energy and the courage to avert it in spite of all obstacles and in disregard of all criticism. It has been disclosed since the settlement that in his efforts he had from the outset the hearty sympathy and encouragement of ex-President Cleveland, who not only voluntarily assured him of both, but consented to serve, if desired, as the head of the President's Commission of Settlement. In view of that fact, and in view also of the fact that Judge Gray, who presided over the work of the commission, is himself a Democrat, second in party and public esteem only to Mr. Cleveland, the chances for the Democrats to make party capital by assailing the President's course are too slight to require serious consideration.

Much the same condition exists in regard to the administration's course in Panama. The great fact in this matter, as on the coal strike settlement, is that the President accomplished his end. He got the isthmian canal that the country had been trying in vain to get for fully three-quarters of a century. There was no objection expressed by his critics at the time to what he had accomplished; his method was the only subject of attack. Yet

after much vociferous debate and denunciation in the Senate, the Democrats were unable to unite for the rejection of the treaty which secured to the country for all time the results of the President's course, and nearly a majority of them voted for its ratification, thus giving their aid in affixing the nation's approval to his conduct. After that proceeding, it will be very difficult for the Democrats to assail the President or his administration for any step in the Panama policy.

The Republican platform, it is easy to perceive, is to be composed mainly of the subjects that I have touched upon in the foregoing passages. Combined with them will be naturally an account of the great and signal services that have been performed, both under McKinley and under Roosevelt, by Secretary Hay in the State Department; services which have written his name at the top of the list of the world's greatest diplomatists and shed enduring honor upon his country. That is not the unduly fervid language of partizanship, but an accurate expression of the tribute which intelligent and fair-minded men of all parties pay gladly whenever Mr. Hay's name is mentioned. It will not be the least valuable of the Roosevelt administration's assets that it has retained and is likely to continue to retain John Hay in its Cabinet, and has associated with him there men of the calibre of Root and Taft and Knox. The Democratic leader who should be asked where he would find in his party material for such a Cabinet as McKinley had and as Roosevelt has retained and strengthened, would have much difficulty in constructing a satisfactory response.

What, then, are the Democrats to do for issues? Whither are they to turn for a candidate? These are questions which grow more difficult to answer as the date for the assembling of the conventions draws near. The party is suffering from a family quarrel of eight years' standing. Experienced observers of such quarrels say that ten or twelve years is the usual period for them to run, that it is idle to hope for peace and the restoration of good-will in less time than that. It should be borne in mind that this Democratic quarrel has in it extraordinary elements of bitterness. It has resulted in two national elections in the overwhelming defeat of the majority faction. Whatever else may be said of Mr. Bryan, he was the regular and undisputed nominee of his party, receiving not only the required two-thirds vote in one convention, but the unanimous vote in the second convention. He and his supporters believe that he was defeated in both campaigns by Democrats who either refused to vote at all or voted directly for his opponent. They regard these Democrats as having committed the unpardonable political crime of bolting. It should be remembered that while the bulk of these bolters were in the Eastern States, there were many thousands of them in the West. It was in the latter section that the Bry-

anites and the bolting Democrats came face to face. They were old party associates, and the quarrel became, consequently, as bitter as family quarrels always are. The bolters not only defeated Mr. Bryan, but they caused the defeat of State and local Democratic candidates everywhere. They did this in two national elections, and they so weakened the party in all sections that it deprived hundreds of Democrats of office and means of support. Is it strange, in view of all this, that the Bryanites are bitter in their hatred, that they refuse to tolerate a suggestion that members of the party who were "traitors" to it eight years and four years ago shall be permitted to come back now and dictate its principles and name its candidate?

It cannot be said that the course pursued by the Eastern Democrats has been placatory. Mr. Cleveland, as their most eminent representative, has repeatedly spoken of the Bryan followers as neither sane nor honest, yet the Eastern Democrats, a few months ago, pressed him to the front as their chosen candidate for the nomination this year, in spite of the third-term tradition. It was scarcely in human reason to suppose that men spoken of in this way, who had suffered the humiliation of two great defeats because of the refusal of Mr. Cleveland and his associates to stand by the party's nominee, would be equal to the task of bowing under Mr. Cleveland's lash, confessing that they had been insane and dishonest and accepting him as their candidate. As a matter of fact, bringing him forward as a candidate served to rekindle the fires of party animosity to a fiercer heat than had been in them for some time. When Mr. Cleveland's candidacy was abandoned, because of his refusal to consent to it, the Eastern Democrats brought forward Judge Parker in such a manner as to enrage the Bryanites rather than to conciliate them. Scarcely had they put him in the field when Mr. Cleveland published a formal and earnest approval of his candidacy in which he took occasion to repeat all the irritating views that he had previously expressed as to the insane and dishonest qualities of the Bryan contingent. This made Judge Parker, who had himself voted for Mr. Bryan in both elections, the chosen candidate of the bolters and as such most objectionable to the Bryanites.

But this was not the real source of the opposition to Judge Parker within his own party. I am writing far in advance of the meeting of the convention and am expressing no opinion as to his chances for securing the nomination. What I wish to point out is the radical difficulty in bringing the Democratic party into harmony upon any New York candidate. The only excuse the Democrats have for coming to New York for a candidate is that Roosevelt is believed to be weak in his own State. Why is he weak there? Because Wall Street does not like him. Then, in order to gain strength with a New York candidate in New York, the Democrats must find one

acceptable to Wall Street, that is, one more friendly to the Trusts than Roosevelt is. It is manifestly absurd to say that such a candidate would be supported by the Bryan followers in the West. Yet Judge Parker was put forward as such a candidate, was advocated openly by one Wall Street magnate, was placed by the convention of his own State on a platform which said nothing about Trusts that was not friendly, and was in general heartily supported by the friends of Mr. Cleveland in and out of the press. What would be the condition of the Democrats with such a candidate on a platform friendly to the Trusts? What would be his condition on a platform of the old Bryan type? In the first instance, the Bryanites would refuse to support him and he would stand no chance of carrying a single large Western State. In the second instance, New York and the East would repudiate him and he would lose all States in that section.

This reveals the fundamental weakness in the Democratic situation. The party is more intent upon fighting within itself than it is upon fighting its opponent. It is so irreconcilably divided in opinion that no common ground of meeting can be discerned. It cannot be induced to make tariff reform its chief issue because its members have at heart no interest in the question and they know also that the people are content with present conditions and will not tolerate a proposal to disturb them. The silver question is dead and cannot be revived. There remains only the Trusts, and on that they are greatly embarrassed by the record of President Roosevelt. He has enforced the law fearlessly and thoroughly. He has won the confidence of the people in his sincerity in the matter. He has refused, as the phrase of Attorney-General Knox puts it, to "run amuck" among all the corporations of the land on the assumption that not only are Trusts and corporations bad, illegal and full of evil, but all aggregations of wealth, as well, and all deserving of prosecution and destruction through the courts. Under these conditions, the only way open to the Democrats is to out-Roosevelt Roosevelt, to go farther than he has gone, that is, "run amuck." Mr. Bryan and his followers wish to do this; the rest of the party are opposed to it, and if a candidate and platform are put forward embodying that doctrine, they will bolt a third time.

Is there any other platform that the Democrats can formulate? They can and probably will assail President Roosevelt as an "unsafe" man, but a campaign on a personal issue against a man of deeds has never succeeded in this country and never can. They will not take the tariff as an issue, and they have no desire to declare direct antagonism to the great issues of the Republican platform which I have enumerated above. Their situation is much like what the late William C. Whitney said it was four years ago—"They have neither men nor principles." They have a man in Judge Parker, but the difficulty lies in fitting him with suitable principles.

NOTES ON THE TRUSTS

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THE community association of elements of labor, of labor and capital, and of capital with capital, is one of the fundamental principles of commercial evolution. In the growth of commercial life there is an evolution of the partnership from the individual, the guild from the partnership, the corporation from the guild, and finally the aggregation known as the trust. Each step in this evolution denotes progress in commercial organization.

The type of business machinery known as the trust is not of recent origin. Its growth along lines of natural development has not been sudden; it is the natural sequence of what has preceded. But the commercial creations of the past few years of high finance have, however, been hybrid productions not in consonance with and subversive of the commercial laws governing the creation of a real trust.

In commercial life only those methods of transacting business survive which are best adapted to their environments, just as in the physical world only the types of life best suited to their environments survive.

When agriculture was the principal occupation we find individuals associating together for the purpose of jointly accomplishing a piece of work and sharing among themselves the common product. The formation of guilds in most of the European countries dates from a very early period, when men associated together for protection against common enemies and for ecclesiastical and eleemosynary purposes; but with the extension of the commercial life of England, the need of a broader vehicle for the transaction of business became apparent, and adapting the machinery already created for another purpose, we find the Guilds-Mercatoria or Guilds-Merchant coming into existence. These guilds-merchant, recognizing the necessity of community association and advancing a step further, not only took advantage of the common labor of their members in the transaction of broadening channels of commerce, but availed themselves of their financial resources to a defined extent. Death of a member, however, terminated his membership, and this arrangement could not in the end meet the needs of a rapidly growing commercial life. There further developed the necessity of some vehicle which would permanently recognize labor performed and capital invested. Something which would not at the death of a member take from his estate a continuance of the benefits his labor or capital had helped to create, nor deprive the association of the capital invested. And here casting about for the means to accomplish the end desired, recourse was had

to a creation of the old Roman Law, and the law-making power of the body politic was evoked to bring into life the corporation.

The corporation was crude and primitive in its early English inception, but step by step, as the necessities of commercial expansion demanded, and as the justice and fairness of such demands came to be recognized, we find the law-making powers yielding, until through successive generations and by re-enactment in our own States of statutes originating in England, we have our corporation as it exists to-day, uniform in its most essential features in all of the States.

Commercial pursuits were originally limited to a few objects, but year after year the number of these objects increased and the number of individuals and corporations engaged in some specific line of industry assumed larger and larger proportions. Yet in these specific industrial or commercial pursuits the great portion of the business, concentrated in the hands of some few individuals, partnerships and corporations, by reason of superior business ability or some other potent factor; but all engaged in a deadly rivalry to survive. In such a contest for success and survival, the necessity for a true observance of the economies of production is of course at once apparent; but in such businesses there are expenditures, in most instances, of large sums of money, for the introduction of the merchandise and facilities of one concern, to the supplanting and exclusion of those of another,—such as advertising, solicitation of trade,—which do not materially add any value to the product disposed of, and make the article, whether it be merchandise, transportation or creative ability, more costly to market and more costly to the consumer. An exclusion of such unnecessary items of expense therefore, from an economic point of view, seemed desirable. It was therefore necessary to create a vehicle in which should be concentrated and combined all the aggregations, be they corporations, partnerships or individuals representing the highest advance in any particular line of industry; and for this purpose the Trust was founded. This organization holds all that has been proven by the struggle for existence most fit to survive, and by the survival of these various elements the body politic is benefited. This combination of forces gives to the consumer a product of labor and capital at a cost less than existed before the combination was effected.

At first sight, however, the good to the community is not so apparent, since it would appear that a huge monopoly had been created, which for a time at least would extort large tribute from the consumer. Here, however, the law of self-preservation asserts itself, since the establishment of unjust and unwholesome prices is the most direct method of creating competition, which invites the Trust to its own destruction or limits its growth and expansion.

The establishment of a monopoly under a Trust has indeed, at the out-

set, the effect in most instances of holding or increasing the prices which existed before its inception; but we insist that if such Trust is to survive, the final result of its organization will be the gradual lowering of these prices. Notable instances of the truth of this statement will be found in the history of the Standard Oil Company and the American Sugar Refining Company, and such instances may be multiplied.

The statistics compiled from time to time show that since the organization of these corporations the prices of oil and sugar have, with slight fluctuations, steadily decreased. Illustrative of the point that the real Trust is of economic benefit to the consumer, which is the community at large, we give below statistics, covering the cost to consumers, during a period of years, of staple commodities produced by some of the leading Trusts:

YEAR,	STANDARD OIL COM- PANY.	DIAMOND MATCH COM- PANY.		AM. SUGAR REFINING COMPANY.	STARCH TRUST.	U. S STEEL CORPOR- ATION.
	Refined petroleum at Port of New York for export price per gallon.	Organized 1889. Aver- age price per gross of matches, boxes 200s.	Relative price on basis of 100 for period.	Organized 1891, but found- ers practically controlli- ng prices for many years prior to its incorporation. Price per pound.	And corporations which preceded it and now compose it. Price of starch per pound.	Corporations which pre- ceded it and are now amalgamated with it. Highest price in each year on steel beams.
	Cents.			Cents.	Cents.	Per gross ton
1871.....	25.7	....	....	....	....	....
1872.....	24.9	....	....	....	....	....
1873.....	23.5	....	....	....	....	....
1874.....	17.3	....	....	....	....	....
1875.....	14.01	....	....	....	....	....
1876.....	14.	....	....	....	....	....
1877.....	21.	....	....	11.6	5.02	....
1878.....	14.4	....	....	10.2	4.07	....
1879.....	10.8	....	....	8.5	4.2	....
1880.....	8.06	....	....	9.	4.3	....
1881.....	10.12	....	....	9.2	4.7	....
1882.....	9.1	....	....	9.7	4.8	....
1883.....	8.8	....	....	9.2	4.6	....
1884.....	9.2	....	....	7.1	4.5	....
1885.....	8.7	....	....	6.4	4.	....
1886.....	8.7	....	....	6.7	4.1	....
1887.....	8.7	....	....	6.	3.8	....
1888.....	7.9	....	....	6.3	3.5	....
1889.....	7.8	....	....	7.6	3.8	....
1890.....	7.4	\$1.9583	111.5	7.	4.1	...
1891.....	7.	1.75	99.6	5.7	3.7	....
1892.....	5.9	1.75	99.6	4.6	3.1	\$70.00
1893.....	4.9	1.75	99.6	4.7	3.2	46.00
1894.....	4.2	1.6667	94.9	4.4	3.2	37.00
1895.....	4.9	1.6875	96.1	4.6	3.2	40.50
1896.....	6.8	1.75	99.6	4.9	2.7	39.50
1897.....	6.3	1.75	99.6	4.7	2.1	38.00
1898.....	5.7	1.75	99.6	5.	1.9	31.50
1899.....	....	1.75	99.6	4.14	2.	54.00
1900.....	....	1.75	99.6	4.5	2.1	54.00
1901.....	....	1.75	99.6	5.	2.	37.00
1902.....	....	1.5883	90.1	4.1	2.3	...

It may be claimed that the position of the Standard Oil Company is unique, and that its steady growth has not been along the lines of natural development. But the mental qualities of those who manage and develop this property exemplify the doctrine of selection. In the combination effected in this Trust there has been selected and kept the talent which could turn so many waste by-products into salable commercial articles, create markets for such by-products, and thereby from time to time reduce the price of its fundamental product. The Trusts have persistently acquired the best in their line of physical properties, and the best mental abilities to manage them. Whenever a factor not of permanent use and a source of temporary annoyance or injury to the organization, has been found, it has been ruthlessly destroyed, and the community at large has in the end been permanently benefited.

Within the last few years promoters and bankers, combining together to obtain riches quickly, have sought to foist upon an uneducated investing public a hybrid creation, in imitation of the real Trust. There suddenly grew up all over the United States, almost in a night, a host of combinations of every conceivable kind of industry. No field was left unscoured. The gold of the public was open to promoters, bankers and the owners of businesses, and all hastened to get their share of unexpected wealth. They were created mainly for the purpose of benefiting and enriching their promoters, with little regard for the future existence of the business. Their creator was usually restless to accomplish his main purpose and leave the enterprise for another. In other words, these Trusts were not a natural growth; they were created not for the best good of the industry, but for the best good of the promoter. It is, of course, needless to say that most of them were grossly over-capitalized, even with securities upon which there was no escape from fixed annual charges. In these malformed simulated Trusts, the postulate seemed to be, "Combine all, or nearly all, of the properties carrying on any particular line of business, if they be large enough to attract attention."

Along with such a combination comes a greedy horde, who must needs be reckoned with, and satisfied, at heavy cost, if the combination is to be effected. Promoters, assistants to promoters, go-betweens of promoter and capital, favored underwriters, favored owners of plants, and office-seekers. Once the rapacity of the owners of plants has been determined, there must be provided, regardless of the burden entailed, a sufficient fund to satisfy all who assisted in the promotion of the enterprise, and from small beginnings it is increased over night into fabulous sums.

The combination is usually thus accomplished: A hungry promoter picks out some particular line of industry, and learns who are the principal

exponents of that industry; options to buy the properties are then procured from these parties, usually for cash, and also the securities of a proposed new corporation, which shall represent all of the principal elements of that industry. The price fixed in cash is far in excess of the real value of the plant and business. The next step is the "Underwriting." In this engine of future torture a glowing description of the proposed new business is usually set forth, based upon audits and appraisals made sometimes carelessly and inefficiently, sometimes deliberately and grossly exaggerated, by so-called Auditors and Appraisers.

To raise the funds needed in cash to satisfy the purchase price of the properties and the demands of the promoters, the public is invited to subscribe for the securities of the proposed new corporation, at what seems an attractive price, some alleged good securities are offered as bait, and by arrangement with banking houses, loans on the names of the underwriters and the securities underwritten are procured for a period of some months, in some cases with no margin and in others with only a very small margin.

Into the underwriting agreement there is speciously thrown a right for a fixed period on the part of the promoter to sell the principal securities underwritten, at a price higher than the subscription price, whereby, if exercised, the underwriter would be enabled to pay his loan, make a cash profit and retain as velvet some additional securities. The underwriter is by inference or representation led to believe that such sale will unquestionably take place. Fateful dream. He awakes too late, when the underwriting loan matures, and learns that he must pay his loan, and become the unhappy possessor of a lot of securities, daily diminishing in value, which will bring him no return.

We furnish on the next page a table showing some recent capitalizations taken at random. We have no means of determining the actual market values of the properties, at the time of their acquisition, for which these securities were issued, but the present market values of these aggregate securities ought to be a fairly true estimate; the difference is also shown. It is not claimed that all of the corporations stated below are failures or illustrate the extreme views here presented, but it is claimed that all are capitalized on a valuation much higher than an investing public places upon them.

The quotations of bond and stock values upon which the following table is based are from daily newspapers or from brokers familiar with prices which cannot be obtained from daily newspapers:

NAME OF COMPANY.	Kind of Securities Issued.	Par value of actual securities issued.	Gross value of securities issued as per quotations January 27, 1904.	Aggregate of all securities issued by each corporation.	Aggregate of quoted values of all securities issued as of January 27, 1904.	Difference between quoted value and par value of securities issued.
U. S. Steel Corporation.....	Bonds	\$304,000,000	\$273,150,000	.....	.....	.....
	Preferred stock..	550,000,000	316,430,000	.....	.....	.....
Pacific Packing & Navigation Co....	Common stock..	550,000,000	58,420,000	\$1,321,500,000	\$648,000,000	\$673,000,000
	Bonds	300,000	60,000	.....	.....	.....
	Preferred stock..	12,500,000	93,750	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	12,500,000	34,250	25,300,000	185,000	15,115,000
U. S. Shipbuilding Company.....	Bonds.....	24,500,000	5,145,000	.....	.....	.....
	Preferred stock..	20,000,000	250,000	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	25,000,000	100,000	69,500,000	5,495,000	64,005,000
International Mercantile Marine	Bonds	75,000,000	60,000,000	.....	.....	.....
	Preferred stock..	60,000,000	12,000,000	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	60,000,000	3,000,000	195,000,000	75,000,000	120,000,000
Amalgamated Copper Company.....	Stock	155,000,000	77,887,500	155,000,000	77,887,500	77,112,500
Consolidated Lake Superior Company.	Preferred stock..	19,000,000	522,500	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	67,000,000	3,457,200	86,000,000	3,979,700	82,020,300
Republic Iron and Steel Company.....	Preferred stock..	20,852,000	9,800,000	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	27,352,000	1,388,160	48,204,000	11,188,600	37,015,400
U. S. Leather Company.....	Preferred stock..	62,882,300	48,580,193	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	62,882,300	4,401,761	125,164,600	52,981,955	72,182,645
U. S. Rubber Company.....	Preferred stock..	23,525,000	11,998,005	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	26,666,000	3,076,580	47,191,500	15,074,585	32,116,915
American Can Company.....	Preferred stock..	41,233,000	15,256,210	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	41,233,000	1,752,402	82,466,000	17,008,612	65,457,388
American Locomotive Company.....	Preferred stock..	25,000,000	19,500,000	.....	.....	.....
	Common stock..	24,100,000	4,338,000	49,100,000	23,838,000	25,262,000
Totals.....	.....	.....	.....	\$2,204,426,100	\$930,638,952	1,273,787,148

After the necessary cash is raised, and the underwriters left to the destruction which usually awaits them at the maturity of their loans, the new corporation is created, its securities issued, plants conveyed to it, cash paid to the owners of these plants, and divided among the promoters and financial institutions and the huge bark, top-heavy and over-laden, starts out on its fateful voyage.

Any conscientious man who finds himself at the head of such an aggregation, after awakening to a full sense of the situation, and taking an inventory of the goods on his hands, with which he was expected to earn sufficient income to pay on the watered securities issued, must feel the deepest despair. The plants are grossly over-valued, and over-paid for in cash payment alone, to say nothing of securities issued therefor; some are badly located, some antiquated, some positively losing money, others greatly in need of repairs, and there are a few possibly good plants. The working capital is absolutely insufficient to handle the business, wholly inadequate to meet any expenditure for repairs or betterments.

After a few months the dividends begin to stop, retrenchments are ordered, perhaps some of the plants are closed or sold, salaries are cut down, (but the recipients usually hold to these with deadly tenacity, so long as there are funds to meet them), interest on bonds, if there be any, ceases, creditors press for payment, and finally the end comes.

Could such a production, so diseased in most of its members, fail to die? The question needs no answer.

The real Trust must be the result of a progressive commercial evolution, and as such it is an economic factor of service to the body politic. After the recent results from the creation of the so-called Trusts, there ought to be an end to the reckless promoting of industries. The financial institutions that have made such indiscriminate loans to underwriters, actuated mainly by a greed for the highest rate of interest, extra "commissions," and a large bonus of securities thrown in, are largely responsible for these combinations which have been a positive menace to our commercial expansion, a source of great loss to the investing public.

The spurious creations of the past few years have not all met the fate which awaits them, but the process of disintegration, elimination and destruction will remorselessly proceed. Ere the last of them disappears, carrying with it the millions of dollars invested by a too sanguine and unsuspecting public, there will be more or less spoliation by keen-eyed watchers, ready to seize and carry off whatever is worth preserving. Finally, the last vestiges will disappear, and there will survive, alone, the memory of these great commercial errors.

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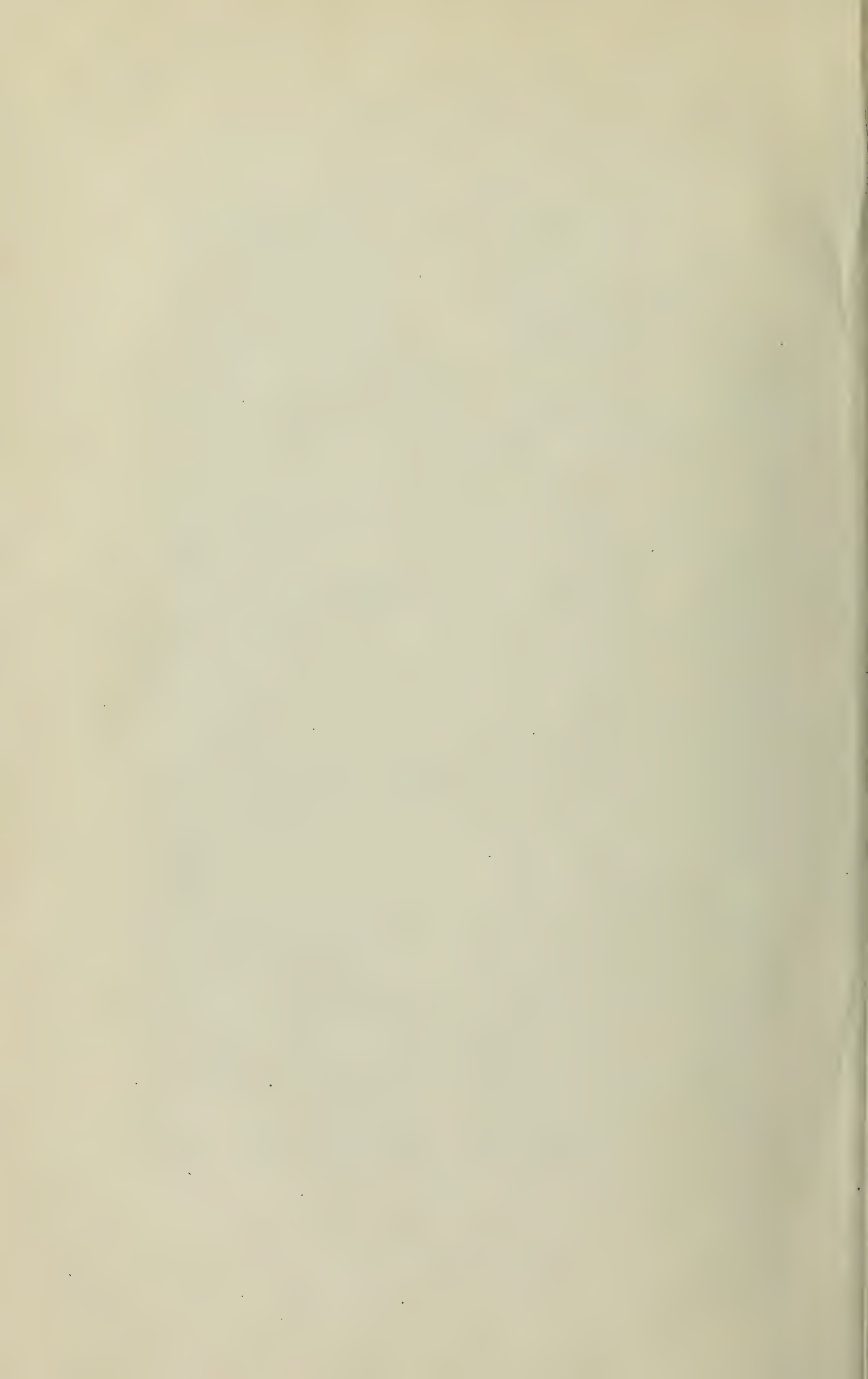
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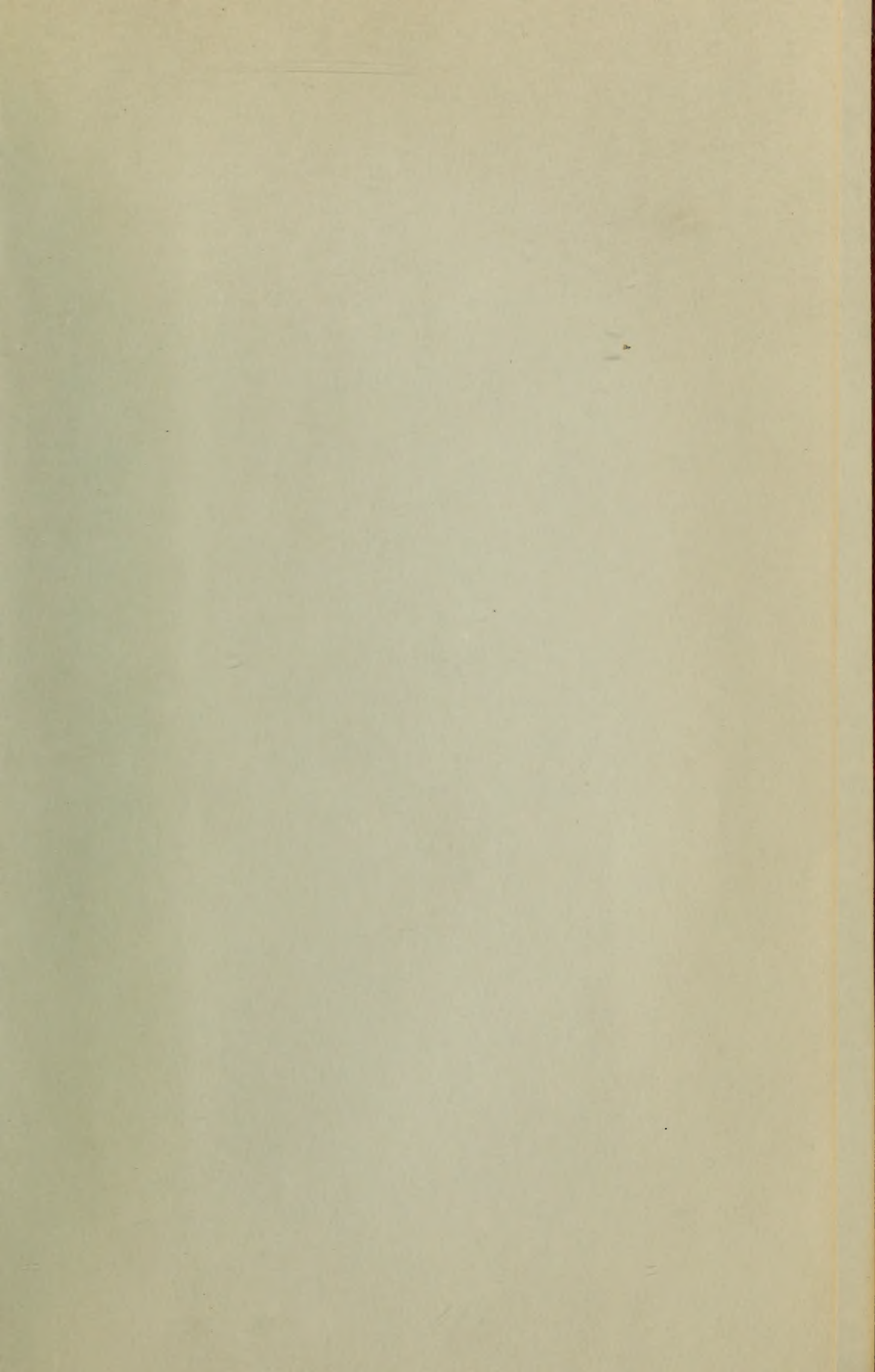
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